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SYMBOLS AS POWER

The Papacy following the Investiture Contest

BY

MARY STROLL



E.J. BRILL

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To my Father

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION	xv
1. Calixtus II: Imperial Motifs in Santa Maria in Cosmedin	1
2. The Lateran: Antipopes as Footstools	16
3. Calixtus Triumphant: St. Chrysogonus and St. Peter's	36
4. Liturgy and Ceremony	45
5. The Coronations of 1111 As the Background for <i>Ordo C</i>	57
6. Calixtus as the Author of <i>Ordo C</i>	78
7. Honorius II and the Pierleoni	93
8. Papal Thrones and the Apse Fresco in San Lorenzo in Lucina	106
9. The Apse Mosaic in San Clemente	118
10. The Apse Fresco in the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace	132
11. The Altar of Augustus in Santa Maria in Capitolio	150
12. Innocent II: Santa Maria in Trastevere	162
13. Innocent II: The Imperial Pope	180
14. The Aftermath of the Lateran Frescoes and St. Peter's	193
15. A Dip in the Curve	209
BIBLIOGRAPHY	215
INDEX	233

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Rome, Fra Paolino da Venezia, Map, 1323; Vat. Lat. 1960, fol. 270v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
2. Papal throne, Santa Maria in Cosmedin; photo Anderson.
3. Rome shaped as a lion; Cod. Hamburg C. 107 B, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.
4. Roma caput mundi; Cod. Hamburg C. 97 B, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.
5. Ecclesia Romana; Cod. Hamburg C. 123 B, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.
6. The emperor (top left), the pope (bottom); Exultet Roll, Barb. Lat. 592, fragment 5, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
7. Lateran basilica, palace and campus; Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 304v, 305r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
8. Alexander II (left); Gregory VII (@ Ladner) or Paschal II (right); Barb. Lat. 2738, fol. 103v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
9. Alexander II over Cadolus (left); Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II over Guibert (right); Barb. Lat. 2738, fol. 105v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
10. Paschal II with Gelasius II over Albert, Maginulf, Theodoric (left); Calixtus II over Burdinus, Henry V (right); Barb. Lat. 2738, fol. 104r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
11. Nero with Sts. Peter and Paul (middle right); Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 89r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
12. Byzantine emperors present privilege to St. Vincent of Vulturno; Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 169v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
13. Paschal II confirms monastery of St. Vincent of Vulturno; Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 102r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
14. St. Vincent of Vulturno crushes the emperor, Dacian, under his feet; Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 10r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

15. Gisulf II holding document with enthroned St. Vincent; Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 58v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
16. Sylvester shows portrait of Sts. Peter and Paul to enthroned Constantine; Arch. S. Pietro, A 64 ter, fol. 40r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
17. Henry V receives globe from Paschal II; C.C.C. MS 373, fol. 83r; reproduced by permission of The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.
18. John XII grants bull of confirmation to the abbot, Paul; Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 203r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
19. Constantine presents donation to enthroned Sylvester; Barb. Lat. 4423, fol. 14r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
20. Old St. Peter's interior; Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 104v-105r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
21. Sarcophagus of Petrus Leonis; photo Alinari.
22. Papal throne, San Clemente; photo Barbara Bini.
23. Papal throne, San Lorenzo in Lucina; photo Barbara Bini.
24. Apse mosaic, San Clemente; photo Alinari.
25. Apse fresco, chapel of St. Nicholas, Lateran palace; Gaetani, photo, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
26. Sylvester I; Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 81, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
27. Anaclet I (entitled Anastasius I); Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 90, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
28. Calixtus II; Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 85, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
29. Anaclet II (entitled Anastasius III or IIII); Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 86, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
30. Eclissi drawings of Gelasius II, Paschal II, Urban II, & Leo I; Barb. Lat. 4423, fol. 2r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
31. Eclissi drawings of Gregory I, Alexander II, Gregory VII, & Victor III; Barb. Lat. 4423, fol. 3r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
32. Leo I; Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 92, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
33. Gregory I; Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 92, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

34. Gelasius II? (entitled Gelasius I); Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 83, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
35. Paschal II? (entitled Paschal I); Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 88, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
36. Urban II? (entitled Calixtus I); Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 77, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
37. Alexander II; Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 96, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
38. Gregory VII; Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 94, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
39. Victor III? (entitled Celestine I); Vat. Lat. 5407, fol. 75, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
40. Mater Ecclesia (top); Exultet Roll, Barb. Lat. 592, fragment 1.
41. Altar of Vision of Augustus, Santa Maria Aracoeli; Giacomo Fontana, *Raccolta delle migliori chiese di Roma e suburbane* 2 (1838), tav. XIV; photo Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome.
42. Apse Mosaic, Santa Maria in Trastevere; photo Anderson.
43. Coronation of Lothar III; Barb. Lat. 2738, fols. 104v-105r, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
44. Innocent II combats the Roman Senate; *Chronicon*, Otto of Freising, Ms. Bos. q. 6, fol. 91v, Jena, Universitätsbibliothek.

INTRODUCTION

It is no accident that the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, *The Wonders of the City of Rome*, was written in the first half of the twelfth century.¹ While its anonymous author was describing ancient Rome, medieval Rome was taking on a new luster, and there was great interest in its ancient heritage (plate 1). In 1084 Robert Guiscard's Norman hordes had swooped down upon the embattled city to save Gregory VII from his German foes, leaving in their wake huge areas in a state of ruin. Gregory's successors, and especially Paschal II (1099–1118), vigorously threw themselves into the task of rebuilding the city. Their energy stemmed not just from the need to replace crumbling churches, but also from the resurgence of the papacy itself. Since the mid-eleventh century it had been emerging from a prolonged state of torpor and decadence. Now it was taking the lead in reforming the church, and it was vying with the emperor for the leadership of Western Christendom. With a keen eye to their symbolic significance reform popes selected churches to use as monuments to their reigns, and decorated them to communicate their messages. Propaganda was the hallmark of this period, and ceremony, liturgy, architecture, frescoes, mosaics, statuary, and papal thrones were the media.

The legends and descriptions in the *Mirabilia* and other tracts give us clues for understanding the significance of places and monuments, but interpreting twelfth-century media is somewhat like looking through a telescope from the bottom of a swimming pool. Murky though the vision may be, the effort is worth the candle for the critical period between the Investiture Contest and the renewed outbreak of hostilities between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* at mid-century. A brief summary of the issues

¹ A late edition of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* is found in the *Codice topografico della Città di Roma* 3, ed. Roberto Valentini & Giuseppe Zucchetti, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 90 (Rome, 1946), pp. 17–65. Collations with the *Graphia Aurea Urbis Romae*, a composite work put together in 1155 and containing the *Mirabilia*, *ibid.*, 77–110; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 4 vols. 3 (Stuttgart, 1929, repr. 1970), pp. 319–53; English trans. Francis Morgan Nichols, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae: The Marvels of Rome or a Picture of the Golden City* (London, 1889), new ed. (Itaica Press, 1986). For excellent studies of the *Renovatio* see the following works: *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson & Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), Robert L. Benson, "Political Renovatio: Two Models from Roman Antiquity," pp. 339–386 at pp. 351–355; Herbert Bloch, "The New Fascination with Ancient Rome," pp. 615–636, at pp. 630–633; Ernst Kitzinger, "The Arts as Aspects of a Renaissance: Rome and Italy," pp. 637–670. For a more general work see Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 198–199.

and points of contention will provide a framework on which to hang our conclusions.

In 1122 the conflict between pope and emperor over investitures sputtered to an uneasy halt. When Calixtus II and Henry V reached a compromise in the Concordat of Worms, old objectives had to be rethought, and new directions charted. The truce left room for maneuvering, and by its interpretation of the terms of the Concordat each side could in fact stake out new positions. The popes, who were striving to establish their own preeminence, utilized this fluid situation to enhance their power over the church, and to challenge the emperor on unexplored grounds.

The forces operating during this period are still only dimly understood, but a brief account of the major figures and events will provide a starting point for clarifying them. The major events during the reign of Paschal II (1099–1118) were the imperial coronations of February and April 1111. Paschal had agreed to return the episcopal *regalia* to the emperor in return for the emperor's renunciation of imperial investitures. Although Henry V accepted these terms, during consultations in the course of the first coronation ceremonies his bishops rejected them. The day ended with Henry's capture of Paschal and the cardinals present at St. Peter's. By April, while in captivity Paschal had agreed to allow imperial investitures, and the second coronation took place. Thereafter Paschal declared his concessions on investitures to be null and void because they had been extorted by force. However, he refused to break his promise not to excommunicate Henry.

Paschal's reign was followed by the short, ignominious reign of Gelasius II (1118–1119). Attacked by Roman factions, and threatened by the emperor, Gelasius fled to France, and died at Cluny. With dubious authority, the six cardinals in his entourage elected Archbishop Guy of Vienne as his successor, Calixtus II. Calixtus was the son of the count of Burgundy, and was related to many members of the highest aristocracy, including Henry V himself. The County of Burgundy lay within the imperial Kingdom of Burgundy, and as such was under the sovereignty of the emperor. As archbishop, Guy's interests frequently collided with Henry's. He became one of Henry's most unyielding opponents not only on local issues, but also on major points of ecclesiastical policy. Typically, when Paschal refused to excommunicate Henry, he was one of the pope's sharpest critics.

Given his record, the cardinals and other prelates at Cluny would seem to have chosen him with the mandate to hang tough—to return dignity to the papacy, to win the contest with the emperor over investitures, and to

obtain the reformers' demands.² Although his first actions were consistent with these expectations, he ultimately concluded that the interests of the church lay in a compromise. With rhetorical skill he convinced the delegates to the First Lateran Council in 1123 that unpalatable though the concessions in the Concordat of Worms might be, they were nevertheless necessary to achieve peace. Whether or not the price he paid was too high, he did bring about a cessation of hostilities. When he died in 1124 his biographer exulted that Rome was so peaceful that it almost seemed as if the halcyon days of Augustus had returned.

But the state of equilibrium masked underlying strains. Turmoil had been rumbling beneath the calm surface during the last two years of his reign, and it erupted in the election of his successor. A coup masterminded by Haimeric, the papal chancellor, and carried out by the Frangipani, the Roman family which had attacked Gelasius, overturned the election of Celestine II. Only the bribery of the opponents of the coup brought about a semblance of legality to the imposition of Cardinal Bishop Lambert of Ostia as Honorius II. The two sides observed an uneasy truce during the reign of Honorius, but conflict broke out in 1130 as he lay moribund.

The artful Haimeric again orchestrated the election of one of the two popes in the schism of 1130–1138. Through his machinations Cardinal Deacon Gregory of St. Angelo was elected first, but patently illegally. Perhaps not ingenuously taking the name of Innocent II, he lost the first round in the fight to occupy the papal see, and fled into exile in France. A few hours after his election a majority of cardinals elected Petrus Pierleoni, who assumed the name of Anaclet II. Anaclet won the battle for Rome, but ultimately lost the war for recognition of the church. Although he maintained control of Rome until his death in January, 1138, and was recognized by Roger II, the Norman ruler in Southern Italy, he was nevertheless branded as the antipope by virtually all the rest of Christendom.

The most widely accepted theory formulated to explain these events postulates that two cardinalate parties coalesced after the Concordat of Worms.³ According to this theory the party headed by Haimeric

² For an interpretation of why Calixtus changed his position, see my article, "Calixtus II: a reinterpretation of his election and the end of the Investiture Contest," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (1980), 3–50.

³ Building upon the research of Hans Walter Klewitz, Franz Josef Schmale developed this theory. In a book about the ecclesiology of Gratian, Stanley Chodorow extended it. Hans Walter Klewitz, "Das Ende des Reformpapsttums," *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 3 (1939), 371–412, repro. in *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg* (Darmstadt, 1957); Franz Josef Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130* (Cologne, 1961); Stanley Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972).

supported the Concordat of Worms, and wanted to resolve the conflict with the emperor so that it could concentrate on internal ecclesiastical reform. This party received its sustenance from the new, more ascetic monastic houses and orders of canons regular of Northern Europe. Its spiritual mentors were such religious leaders as Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, Norbert of Xanten, and Guigo of Chartreuse. Holders of this theory postulate that the leader of the other party was Cardinal Petrus Pierleoni, a scion of the powerful Roman family, which had converted from Judaism in the mid-eleventh century. Whereas the younger, more international, and more progressive cardinals gravitated to Haimeric, the senior, more conservative cardinals were drawn to Petrus and his family.

Proponents of this view believe that the older generation had served under popes who had concentrated their efforts on combatting the emperor, and they argue that these elder cardinals continued to see the emperor as the chief obstacle to ecclesiastical reform. Rejecting the compromises reached at Worms, they wanted to achieve their original objectives, and they expected the military protection of their traditional allies, the Normans of Southern Italy. Their ideological exemplars were the older Benedictine houses such as Cluny and Montecassino.

In 1124, the theory continues, there were too few cardinals of the new persuasion to elect a pope representing their ideals. The lack of a majority forced Haimeric and the Frangipani to resort to a coup in order to assure the ascendancy of Honorius, who was one of their own. During his reign, Honorius and Haimeric hoped to appoint enough like-minded cardinals to elect a successor of their choice through regular procedures, but they did not have enough time. When Honorius died in 1130 Haimeric manipulated the electoral process in an effort to choose a pope representing the progressive forces. He succeeded in enthroning Innocent, but failed to forestall a schism. As anticipated, the theory concludes, given the respective philosophies of the two popes, the emperor and the northern reformers recognized Innocent, while the southern conservatives and Roger II opted for Anaclet.

In summary, the theory sees the dispute as ideological. Those who subscribe to it argue that the less progressive faction still viewed the emperor as the greatest threat to ecclesiastical reform, while the more innovative thinkers welcomed the accommodation of 1122 so that they could give top priority to internal ecclesiastical reform. Whereas the older, southern cardinals still looked to Rome for inspiration, their younger northern colleagues sought spiritual guidance from the newer religious houses flourishing primarily in France.

This theory is gradually being eroded, and it is becoming increasingly clear that the cleavages among the cardinals were more political than ideological.⁴ That parties did not form on the basis of adhesion to deeply held religious principles can be shown from observing the interaction of the protagonists. Rather than staunchly defending positions reflecting a consistent ideology, opponents and allies frequently changed sides. A brief synopsis of this interweaving from the end of the reign of Gelasius II demonstrates this point.

Before his election Gelasius had been the papal chancellor, John of Gaeta, and he appears at least in part to have been elected to forestall the election of a Frangipani nominee.⁵ If this were so, it explains why the Frangipani twice brutally attacked him. Although his challenger, Gregory VIII, or Burdinus, as he was commonly called, was elected through the auspices of the emperor with the blessings of the Frangipani, he was not simply an imperial lackey. Indeed, as an official papal negotiator he had been charged with working out a peaceful accommodation with Henry V.⁶ Originally a French Cluniac monk of St. Martial, Maurice Burdinus had been recruited by Archbishop Bernard of Toledo in 1088 to assist in the task of bringing the Gregorian reform to Spain. He arrived with the reputation of a monk of the highest sanctity, and as archbishop of Braga he was esteemed as a reformer. Problems with the papacy arose only out of the Byzantine character of the church in Spain, and eventually out of his relationship with John of Gaeta when John was papal chancellor. Thus, Gregory had as much right as Gelasius to be called a reformer.

Six cardinals accompanied Gelasius into exile after the combined threats of Henry V and the Frangipani had made Rome too insecure. They must have been among Gelasius' most trusted advisors, and they would have seen the Frangipani as their enemy. But showing how transitory and unstable alliances were, two of the cardinals accompanying Gelasius

⁴ See, for example, the study of Werner Maleczek, who demonstrates that the reform canons in Innocent's councils were basically the same as those of his predecessors. "Das Kardinalskollegium unter Innocenz II. und Anaklet II.," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981), 27–78. In my book on the papal schism of 1130 I argue that the causes of the schism were basically political rather than ideological. *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130* (Leiden, 1987).

⁵ Alfonsus Ciaconius, *Vita et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium* 1 (Rome, 1677), p. 930: "Cincius Fregepanis cardinalem quendam in primis amicum in Pontificem petebat, quo repulsam passo, in Ioannem de familia Caieta, Caietanum, monachum Casinatem, & Cancellarium, tanto Pontificatu dignissimum, omnium suffragia versa sunt, praesertim ne ad Cincij petitionem Romanus Pontifex creatus esset."

⁶ Carl Erdmann, "Mauritius Burdinus (Gregor VIII.)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 19 (1927), 203–261; Pierre David, "L'énigme de Maurice Bourdin," pp. 441–501 of *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècles* (Lisbon, Paris, 1947). Both of these writers are influenced by the account of Étienne Baluze, *Vita Mauricii Burdini archiepiscopi Bracarenensis*, in *Miscellanea historica*, ed. J. D. Mansi 1 (Lucca, 1761), pp. 137–148.

would soon ally themselves with the Frangipani. They were Gregory of St. Angelo, elected Innocent II, and John of Crema, who supported Innocent's election. They and the Frangipani would all oppose the election to the papacy of a third member of Gelasius' entourage—Petrus Pierleoni. But in the present context this little band of future belligerents worked together harmoniously to bring about Guy's election as Calixtus, and even the Frangipani cooperated with the new Burgundian pope and his Pierleoni backers after his arrival in Rome.

What factors induced these cardinals to elect Calixtus? Why did they select an archbishop, who was Henry's most unrelenting foe, but whose record as a reformer was blemished? A man motivated by ambition rather than by religious principle, he had interfered with the liberties of the monks of Romans in his province, lied to advance the fortunes of his archbishopric, and even threatened to capture Urban II when the pope stood in his way. Clearly the cardinals chose him neither because of his championship of ecclesiastical reform nor because of his advocacy of peace with the emperor. Had they been seeking such a candidate, they would have done better to have selected Pontius, abbot of Cluny. Pontius had used his good offices to resolve the conflict between the emperor and the papacy, while Guy had consistently hewed to a hard line. Most probably they chose Guy because they perceived that the very existence of the papacy was at stake. They saw him as a strong man, who had the social standing and the will to stand up to the emperor and his supporters in Rome. His attitude toward the new, more ascetic religious orders was extraneous to this central concern.

The intrepid little band at Cluny could hardly have anticipated that the pope they elected would take the initiative in working out a compromise with the emperor, and that along with Cardinal Bishop Lambert of Ostia, two of its members—Saxo of St. Stephano and Gregory of St. Angelo—would serve as negotiators. All three negotiators went on to play important, but conflicting roles in the papacy. Saxo became the candidate of the people in the papal elections of 1124, and he would later serve Anaclet as chancellor. Lambert was the pope instated as Honorius II by Haimeric in 1124. Since both Lambert and Saxo had negotiated the Concordat, it cannot be claimed that Haimeric imposed Lambert and rejected Saxo because Saxo represented the forces in the church opposed to accommodation with the emperor. By extension Anaclet cannot be tarred with the same brush—that he chose Saxo as his chancellor because of a mutual unwillingness to accept the compromises of Worms.

The reason Haimeric conspired with the Frangipani to force Lambert upon the cardinals was not a shared religious philosophy, but power. The

conspirators wished to dislodge the Pierleoni from their commanding role as chief supporters of the papacy by imposing a pope independent of their influence. Lambert, originating from a non-noble family in Northern Italy, and having no power base in Rome, would have been reliant upon Haimeric and the Frangipani. Haimeric's calculations proved to be correct.

No new reform initiatives distinguish Honorius' reign, but he made several astute political moves to increase the power of the papacy. Ignoring the Concordat of Worms, he did nothing to stem the practice in which the German bishops took over the *regalia* before the emperor invested them with these perquisites. And pursuing pathways charted by Calixtus, he attempted to assert papal control over Cluny and Montecassino. He helped to bring about the election of Lothar of Saxony, who, as emperor, would be more malleable than Lothar's rivals, Frederick and Conrad of Swabia. But his effort to contain the expansion of the power of Roger (II) in Southern Italy failed.

When Honorius died in 1130, the cardinals who had opposed the coup in 1124 anticipated Haimeric's power play, and were prepared to resist it. The bribes offered to the Pierleoni for their acquiescence in 1124 had not been paid off, leaving a taste of gall in their mouths and a sense of urgency to restore their honor. Again Haimeric thwarted them and the majority of cardinals and Roman clergy by orchestrating the election of Innocent without even announcing Honorius' death. The powerful papal chancellor did not devise this complicated maneuver simply to assure that the next pope would champion the views of the northern reformers, and promote a more international church. Indeed, on these issues Gregory and Petrus had similar records. Petrus had ties with the saintly abbot Guigo of Chartreuse, and he had participated in the establishment of the Praemonstratensian order of canons regular. After his election he was astounded that its founder, Norbert of Xanten, did not support him.

What concerned Haimeric was that Petrus had a strong power base in Rome, and that he had great command presence. Educated by the masters in Paris, a friend of Louis VI, and a monk, who had taken his cowl at Cluny, he far exceeded his fellow cardinals in distinction. Calixtus had singled him out for promotion and special honors, while Gregory had languished at the rank of cardinal deacon since the reign of Paschal.

Thus, Petrus posed a serious threat to Haimeric's hegemony. But more than that, Haimeric no doubt realized that after the insults of 1124 Petrus would never have retained him as chancellor. By contrast, Gregory had no serious liabilities, and was willing to go along with Haimeric's schemes to circumvent legal electoral procedures. Always playing second

fiddle, and never emerging as a strong personality in his own right, Gregory concealed a toughness, which may have coincided with Haimeric's own inclinations. After his election to the papacy Gregory revealed that he perceived Petrus as a Jew, or at least as possessing what he saw as pernicious Jewish characteristics. To him and many other churchmen at the time of the schism, the elapse of a century since the Pierleoni conversion to Christianity did not erase their innate Jewishness. In all probability, as a Frenchman Haimeric also held the anti-Jewish sentiments of his close associates, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable. There were, accordingly, a multiplicity of personal and political reasons for Haimeric's preference for Innocent, but ideological considerations were not among them.

The fact that ideology did not account for many of the major decisions taken during this period does not preclude that the popes held strong views on the character of the papacy and its authority relative to the power of the emperor. Their ceremonies and artistic enterprises in Rome encode these views in ways which are no longer always obvious. They were also not always clear to contemporaries, for on occasion popes preferred the flexibility of ambiguity. It had the virtue of allowing them to escape from potentially hostile reactions, and of making it possible to interpret the imagery on both an immediate and a timeless level. This tactic was particularly useful if the subject involved the relationship of the papacy to the empire. Understanding the political background and mental climate helps one to decipher the symbols and images, but deficiencies in evidence and complexity of intention dictate that there will always be cause for new interpretations.

My analysis will indicate that parting company with the northern reformers, Calixtus emphasized the ruling side of the papacy rather than the apostolic traditions of the early church. He also continued to compete with the emperor through clever inventions of symbols, imagery, and movement, and at times his creations exhibited a personal aggrandizement. Mysteriously, Honorius was iconographically almost mute, but Anaclet frequently expressed his views through non verbal media. Directly or indirectly he was associated with many art works during his eight-year reign in Rome. Rather than portraying himself as a conservative, who rejected the Concordat of Worms and still saw the emperor as the chief threat to the church, he pointedly identified himself with Calixtus. More astonishingly, his artistic motifs reveal an affinity for the ideals of his most vehement critic—St. Bernard.

Ironically, given St. Bernard's staunch support, Innocent did not exhibit empathy with the abbot's ideal of a pastoral papacy in the tradition of St.

Peter and Gregory I. Rather, he identified himself with Sylvester I, the pope to whom Constantine reputedly granted imperial authority in the West when he moved to Constantinople. Innocent's papacy was an imperial papacy, and his church was a majestic church. Casting himself in the mold of Gregory VII, but more subtle and diplomatic than "The Holy Satan", he disseminated views similar to those of his fiery predecessor. With the long range objective of subordinating the empire to the papacy, he used suggestion and ambiguity to gnaw away at imperial authority.

Let us now see how art, liturgy and pageantry unfold the positions of these popes on issues concerning both *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.

Chapter 1

CALIXTUS II: IMPERIAL MOTIFS IN SANTA MARIA IN COSMEDIN

The Greek basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin graced the southern end of the *Schola Graeca*, a region stretching north along the Tiber from the foot of the Aventine.¹ The *Schola* was one of the more populated areas of twelfth-century Rome. In classical times the Roman forum and the Capitoline and Palatine hills had formed the center of the city, but at the time of Calixtus those regions were only sparsely populated. In this later period inhabitants clustered along the east bank of the Tiber on the field of Mars, extending southward near the theater of Marcellus and on through the *Schola Graeca*. On the west bank, technically outside of the city, they dwelt across from these areas in Trastevere and northward to the Leonine City encompassing St. Peter's basilica. Much of the interplay among the popes and emperors in this period took place in these regions and around the Lateran far to the east.

The character of each region was greatly influenced by the aristocratic families that lived there, and dominated that quarter. For example, the Frangipani controlled the heights of the Palatine near the arch of Titus, and the areas spilling over the side toward the Coliseum. The *Schola Graeca* formed the southern border of an area dominated by the Pierleoni. Its northern boundary was the Jews' bridge west of the theater of Marcellus leading to the isola and on to Trastevere. It was the ninth of Augustus' twelve regions of Rome, and had been called the *forum holitorium*.² In Christian times it was primarily inhabited by Greeks,

¹ Richard Krautheimer, Wolfgang Frankl, Spencer Corbett, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV–IX Cent.)*. Monumenti di Antichità Christiana pubblicati dal Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Christiana. 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1937, 1959, 1967, 1970, 1977), vol. 2:2–3 (1959), p. 3045.

² In the twelfth century twelve regions existed within the city, and in addition, those of Trastevere and the isola. See the life of Gelasius II, *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne 2 vols., 2 (Paris, 1886–1892) p. 313: "... regiones duodecim Romanae civitatis, Transtiberini e Insulani ..." The *Liber Politicus* written by Benedict, a canon of St. Peter's during the reign of Innocent II, speaks of papal processions in which marched "ante crucem milites drachonarii, portantes XII vexilla que bandora vocantur." *Liber Politicus* of Benedict *Liber Censuum*, ed. Paul Fabre & Louis Duchesne, 2 vols., 2 (Paris, 1905) pp. 141–169 at p. 146. For a general discussion of Rome into ecclesiastical and military regions see the note by Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* 2, n. 7, pp. 253–254. See also Ferdinando Castagnoli, Carlo Cecchelli, Gustavo Giovannoni, Mario Zocca, *Topografia e Urbanistica di Roma* pt. 2 Cecchelli, *Roma Medioevale*, pp. 169–341 (Bologna, 1958), pp. 193–195. Cecchelli says that the twelve regions were divided into twenty six in the Middle Ages; *De Nominibus Regionum Urbis Romae*, ed.

Jews, and other orientals, and its churches were dedicated to Greek saints.

Like many other Jewish families which had settled in Trastevere and then prospered, the Pierleoni moved across the Tiber to this quarter. There they occupied the fortress in the decaying theater of Marcellus, and several houses in the vicinity. After their conversion to Christianity they virtually adopted San Nicola in Carcere, located on the south side of the theater, as their private church.³ On the north side of the theater stood the basilica of St. Angelo, built into the Porta Octavia.⁴ Since at least 1116 Gregory Papareschi had presided as its cardinal deacon. In retrospect it might be thought that Gregory chafed under the Pierleoni presence, but before 1130 all outward signs indicated harmony.⁵

The Pierleoni quickly moved into the position as the strongest supporters and defenders of the reform popes. Gregory VII sought succor from them, Urban II died in one of their houses, and Paschal II relied upon them in multifarious ways.⁶ Given Urban's penury, the Pierleoni must

Valentini & Zuccetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 169–171, from a MS. written between 1220–1227. Usually each region contained two contrade. In this listing number XII is the *Regio Ripae et Marmoratae*. The *Schola graeca*, which roughly corresponded to the area dominated by the Pierleoni, was the ancient Foro Boario. The churches in this area were dedicated to cults of the Orient, and especially Greece—e.g. San Giorgio and Santa Maria in Cosmedin, derived from the name of a quarter in Constantinople.

³ Among other evidence *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 294, and the dispute at Farfa arbitrated by Petrus Leonis in 1104. Gregorio di Catino, *Chronicon Farfense*, ed. Ugo Balzoni 2 (Rome, 1903), p. 232: "altercantibus vero causidicis utriusque partis in placito apud Sanctum Nycolaum de Carcere . . ."

⁴ Rudolf Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049–1130*. vol. 48 of Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 223–224; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 1, pp. 66–76.

⁵ For example, it was he, who handed Gelasius the insignia of his office after his coronation, and who, along with Petrus Pierleoni, accompanied Gelasius to Cluny. Ciacconius, *Vita et Res Gestae* 1, pp. 930–931: ". . . mox Episcopus consecratus [Gelasius], suae Coronationis insignia suscepit, per manus Gregorij Diaconi Card. S. Angeli, S.R.E. Archidiaconi cuius fides imprimis eo tempore perspecta est, quo Vrbanus a Giberti Antipapae factione in Insula Tiberina Romae inter duos pontes obsessus est, solus enim, cum Petro Leone viro clarissimo, sanctissimum Pontificem numquam deseruit."

⁶ For Urban II see *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 294: "Qui Christi confessor et bonus atleta apud sanctum Nicolaum in Carcere, in domo Petri Leonis, IIII kl. aug. animam Deo reddidit; atque per Transtiberim propter insidias inimicorum in ecclesia beati Petri, ut moris est, corpus eius delatum est et ibi honorifice humatum." Flavio Biondo, who lived between 1391–1463, wrote: "Consulto gli amici, e il romano Pietro di Leone, allora potentissimo, temendo che il papa non potesse essere difeso abbastanza negli appartamenti solitari di san Pietro in Laterano o di Santa Maria, lo tenne due anni in casa sua presso la chiesa di san Nicola al carcere Tulliano." *Le Decadi (Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Decades)* Libri XXXII, tr. Achille Crespì (Forlì, 1963), p. 353. Even though Biondo describes Petrus Leonis as *potentissimo*, Petrus was not powerful enough to assure that Urban's body would not be desecrated if born through the center of the city to St. Peter's: "La sua [Urban] morte fu causa di non lieve mortificazione al popolo di Roma, perche il feretro dovette essere trasportato dal palazzo di Pietro Leoni, in cui quel grande papa s'era tenuto nascosto per due anni, alla basilica di san Pietro. Il clero poi temendo offese alla salma, evito il centro della città, solo pochi la trasportarono di corsa attraverso il quartiere di Trastevere." p. 372. See also n. 5 above.

have been responsible for his sepulchre in St. Peter's, and its character indubitably reflected their conception of the papacy. It is usually described as beautiful, but never as ornate nor as embellished with imperial overtones.⁷

The connections between Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the papacy and the Pierleoni began when John of Gaeta was appointed the basilica's cardinal deacon.⁸ From 1089 at the latest John also served as papal chancellor, and in this capacity he must have been on hand while Urban was residing in one of the Pierleoni homes, probably on the isola. The commuting distance between church and residence would have been an easy walk. Perhaps for the Frangipani, the chief rivals of the Pierleoni, these early connections made John unacceptable as pope. They may help to explain why the Frangipani attacked John after his election as Gelasius II, and why Petrus Pierleoni was one of the pope's few companions when he was forced out of Rome.

At first it may seem anomalous that Calixtus, a former Burgundian archbishop, would choose a church known since the eighth century as the *aeccllesia Graecorum* for revealing his position on fundamental ecclesiastical issues. However, when one recalls Santa Maria's associations with Gelasius and the Pierleoni, his choice becomes less mysterious. Petrus had championed his election in Cluny, while the cardinal's father worked for its acceptance in Rome. Thus, long before his arrival in Rome he and the Pierleoni had formed ties, which endured throughout his reign. Santa Maria in Cosmedin may also have especially attracted Calixtus because singling out his predecessors's cardinalate church would show his desire for continuity in papal policy. Further evidence of his

⁷ For Urban's sepulchre in St. Peter's see Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 375–442, at p. 394: "Iuxta huius [Hadrian I] oratorium est sepulchrum domni Urbani II papae, satis pulchrum in Vaticano." Mallius wrote during the reign of Alexander III. The oratory of Hadrian I was next to that of Leo IV. In the sixteenth century Onophrius Panvinus speaks of the sepulchre as being beautiful and appropriate. *De rebus antiquis memoratu dignis basilicae S. Petri in Vaticano*, 1560. *Vat. lat.* 7010, ed. Angelo Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* 9 (Rome, 1863), pp. 194–382 at p. 239: "Prope Hadriani papae delubrum, fuit sepulchrum Urbani II. pulchrum decensque, cuius etiam ante basilicae ruinam memoria exoleverat." Later (p. 359) when he lists the popes buried in St. Peter's he uses a term, which suggests that the sepulchre was refined and dignified: "Urbanus II. gallus qui obiit anno MIC, iacet prope oratorium Hadriani papae in eleganti sepulcro." Tiberius Alpharanus, who finished his manuscript in 1582, states: "Prope dicti Adriani primi delubrum, et iuxta huius transversae partis parastatem ad occidentem erat Urbani secundi sepulchrum eximium quidem decensque exornatum." *De Basilicae Vaticanae: Antiquissima et Nova Structura*, intro. & notes D. Michele Cerrati, Studi & Testi 26 (Rome, 1914), p. 42. Mallius' description of the tomb as *satis pulchrum* seems to imply that it did not have triumphal or imperial characteristics. Ingo Herklotz interprets the text to mean that it had to be something more than just a simple sepulchre in the ground. *Sepulchra e Monumenta del Medioevo*, Studi sull'arte sepolcrale in Italia (Rome, 1985), p. 97.

⁸ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp.231–232. Gelasius enriched the diaconate church with gifts of property, gold, silver, and books. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 312; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 2, pp. 279–310.

identification with Gelasius is an inscription within the church in which the two popes are juxtaposed. Also a fresco in the narthex over the tomb of Alfanus, his *camerarius*, in all probability portrays the two popes.⁹

Since Urban II had declared Santa Maria to be the first among Roman deaconries, the basilica was a worthy, if not an exalted monument to Calixtus' majestic conception of the papacy.¹⁰ Like Urban Calixtus also hoped to unite the Greek and Latin churches, separated since 1054.¹¹ What more inviting gesture could he extend than to honor a Greek church in Rome? Further, Calixtus especially venerated St. Nicholas, or perhaps more accurately, he wanted to take advantage of the immense popularity the saint's cult had generated since the transfer of his relics to Bari in 1087.¹² One of the attractions of Santa Maria may have been its chapel, splendidly refurbished by Nicholas I in 858, and dedicated to the saint.¹³ This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that Calixtus later constructed a chapel in the Lateran palace, which he dedicated to St. Nicholas.¹⁴

⁹ See ns. 23 & 24 below.

¹⁰ "I Cataloghi e la Recensione del Secolo XV, Continuazione di Pietro Guglielmo", ed. Valentini e Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 2, pp. 336–337 from the Life of Gelasius II: "Urbanus . . . Diaconiam Romae, quam Sanctam Mariam in Cosmydin vulgariter nuncupant, . . . super omnes alias inaltaverit . . ."

¹¹ Ulysse Robert, *Histoire du Pape Calixte II* (Paris, Besançon, 1891), pp. 158–160 for the negotiations with John Comnenus over the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches.

¹² Ottavio Panciroli, *I Tesori Nascosti nell'Alma Città di Roma* (Rome, 1600) p. 59; Panciroli says that St. Nicholas was held in so much esteem that Petrus Damianus said in a sermon: "Post memoriam Virginis Nicolae nomen tenetur in ore, in fulgurum coruscatione, in maris tempestate, in incommodis, in agritudinibus. Apud Sur. 6 Decembr, in S. Nicolao."

¹³ *Ibid.*, 635.

¹⁴ Nicholas was thought to have been an angel while still a man, and thus to have had the aura of an especially blessed saint. More than any other, he possessed the power to help those in need or in danger. A thirteenth century legend associates him with victory of the people: "Nicolaus dicitur a nicos, quod est victoria, et laos, quod est populus, id est Nicolaus, quasi victoria populi i.e. vitiorum quae et popularia et vilia sunt; vel victoria proprie, quia multos populos vita et doctrina docuit vitia et peccata vincere." *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1850), "St. Nicholas," pp. 22–29, at p. 22. A 3rd ed. of 1890 repr. Osnaburck, 1965 was not available to me.

In the twelfth century St. Nicholas was thought to have used his power particularly to protect the clergy. Sensing the dramatic impact the transfer of the saint's relics would have upon the West, Urban II immediately harnessed the cult to the aims of the reform papacy. The propagation of the cult also provided the papacy with a bond with the Normans, who ruled southern Italy, and who particularly venerated St. Nicholas. As a sign of this veneration, although Roger II had received his kingship from Anaclet II in 1130, a bronze table fashioned in 1139 after Anaclet's death shows St. Nicholas crowning Roger. Karl Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande: Eine Kultgeographische Volksbuch Untersuchung*. Heft 9–12 of *Forschungen zur Volkskunde*, pub. Universitätsprofessor Dr. Georg Schreiber (Düsseldorf, 1931); see also H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), App. IX, "Events at Bari in 1086–7," pp. 263–266 for sources on St. Nicholas and an analysis of his significance in Italy after the transfer of his relics to Bari.

Calixtus proved to be a master of creating art and pageantry to mobilize people to his causes. His later successes were presaged by his triumphal arrival in Rome from his native Burgundy. Even though his position as an outsider was shaky, and the fractious Romans had forced his two predecessors to flee the city, he entered Rome like a conquering hero. An observer said that had Caesar been alive, he, himself would have marveled. Outside of the city children strewed branches and praised him. Playing the role of Jesus on Palm Sunday Calixtus said, "*Sinite parvulos venire ad me, talium est enim regnum coelorum.*" Entering the city crowned with the frigium, and riding a white horse he ceremoniously made his way from St. Peter's to the Lateran along the opulently decorated Via Sacra.¹⁵ The populace lining the route cheered and welcomed the foreign pope. Marshalled by Petrus Leonis, the nobility awaited him at his palace to swear fidelity.¹⁶

A. SANTA MARIA IN COSMEDIN

Calixtus wasted no time in indicating where his dispositions lay. On June 12, 1120, just after his arrival in Rome, he appointed his nephew, Stephen of Berry, as cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and with the help of Alfanus, his *camerarius*, he had the church rebuilt and painted with three sets of frescoes.¹⁷ Alfanus was not a mere functionary, but the holder of an office evolving into a position of vast importance.¹⁸

¹⁵ Uodalscalvus de Eginone et Herimanno, MGH SS 12:446; Johann Matthias Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum qui fuerunt inde ab exeunte saeculo IX usque ad Finem Saeculi XIII Vitae*, vol. 2 *Paschalis II. Coelestinus III. (1099–1198)*, (Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1966), p. 138. Bosio conflates Calixtus' first entry into Rome with his triumph after his capture of Burdinus in Sutri in 1121. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 377; Robert, *Histoire du Pape Calixte II*, p. 106. Archbishop Frederick of Cologne referred to Calixtus as *victoriosi triumphi imperator* when he congratulated him upon his election. Schramm, *Kaiser Könige und Päpste*. 4.1, *Rom und Kaiser; Geistliche und weltliche Gewalt; Das Reformpapsttum; Zur Geschichte von Nord- und Westeuropa*, p. 183 & n. 26. In his *Liber Floridus* Lambert, canon of St. Omer included brief notices of the popes from Benedict VIII to Calixtus II, which became longer from Urban II. The biography of Calixtus stresses his reception of the imperial *ornamenta*, which Constantine had given to Silvester. "Quorum legati Romam profecti, huius electionem Romanis notificantes litteris, urbis clerus principes que cum populo electionem firmauerunt, mittentes ei imperialia ornamenta in Viennensi palatio, quae Flavius Constantinus Augustus sanctissimo papae Silvestro legitur concessisse . . ." *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus*, ed. Albert Derolez (Ghent, 1968), p. 375. The manuscript is preserved in the Bibliothèque universitaire, Ghent.

¹⁶ JL 6852; PL 163:1180.

¹⁷ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp. 232–33; G. B. Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin* (Rome, 1927). The refurbishing of Santa Maria in Cosmedin was not the only joint enterprise of Calixtus and Alfanus. In 1123 Calixtus consecrated the major altar of S. Silvestro in Capite, and Alfanus made various donations to the church, among them the pavement. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 4, pp. 143–156 at p. 146; Giovanni Severano, *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese* (Rome, 1630), pp. 350–351.

¹⁸ Karl Jordan, "Zur päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 25 (1933/34), 61–104, esp. 88–104.

In an effort to gain control of the administration centered in the Lateran palace, popes from the middle of the eleventh century had attempted to install advisors under their own personal authority. A papal *camerarius* as distinct from his curial counterpart is known from the reign of Urban II. A former Cluniac monk, Urban adopted the advanced financial administration of Cluny as his model, and appointed Peter, one of its monks, as his *camerarius*. Peter was not entitled *camerarius ecclesiae Romani*, but *domini papae*.¹⁹ Calixtus followed Urban's lead, using Cluny as the seat of the papal treasury, and appointing his nephew, Stephen of Berry, as his *camerarius*. Stephen was born in Besançon, the same city as Calixtus, and was a close member of the pope's family. Significantly, it was this same Stephen, whom Calixtus selected as cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin.

Stephen was part of the transitional process in which Calixtus moved the operations of the papal *camerarius* from Cluny to Rome. With the help of Pontius, the abbot of Cluny, Stephen had been collecting huge sums from Diego of Compostella in Diego's effort to become archbishop. By 1123 these "benedictions" had achieved their objective, and Cluny no longer served the same function. Its financial procedures had been mastered, and an Italian could take over the office. Inscriptions in Santa Maria in Cosmedin reveal that Alfanus had succeeded Stephen as the *camerarius domini papae*, as distinct from Guido, the *Romanae curiae camerarius*.²⁰

The movement of the papal *camerarius* to Rome completed the evolution of the office, and marked a significant stage in the development of papal authority and autonomy. The fact that it was Calixtus, who brought the *camerarius domini papae* to Rome from Cluny, and through both Stephen and Alfanus associated the office with Santa Maria in Cosmedin, adds a new dimension to the rebuilding and decoration of the deaconry in the *Schola Graeca*. The special closeness between Calixtus and his *camerarius* signifies the pope's personal involvement in the symbolism and iconography.²¹

The evidence that Calixtus took a direct hand in reconstructing and decorating Santa Maria is circumstantial, but compelling. Three indisputable facts associate him with the Greek basilica: (1) the appointment of

¹⁹ Ibid., 97.

²⁰ Ibid., 99–100. Benedictus canonicus reflects these dual offices in his *Ordo* written about 1140. *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 143: "Cubicularii et camerarii ponunt faculas ante pontificem . . ."

²¹ Jordan, "Päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte," p. 101: "Die Kammer, oder besser gesagt, der Kämmerer des Papstes steht in einem besonders nahen Verhältnis zum Papst und übt infolgedessen bei dessen Regierungsgeschäften einen grossen Einfluss aus . . ."

his nephew as cardinal deacon, (2) the involvement of his *camerarius*, and (3) the consecration of its altar on May 6, 1123.²² Alfano, underwrote much, if not all of the expense, and donated many of the furnishings. Obviously a man of means and refinement, he had his own tomb constructed in the portico in studied imitation of the classical style.²³

In the upper portion a fresco depicts Mary crowned as *Maria regina*. Two figures kneeling at her sides are easily recognizable as popes from their tiaras. Most probably they are Gelasius II and Calixtus II, since their names appear together in an inscription in the apse wall delineating the relics they donated to the church.²⁴ The inscription on the tomb states:

Virtuous Alfano, realizing that all things perish, ordered this sarcophagus for himself, lest he pass away entirely.

The utter splendor of the work delights outwardly, but inwardly it warns that sad things await in the end.²⁵

No one marveling at the splendor of the church could have any doubt that Alfano was in charge of the refurbishment. His name appears almost everywhere. On a marble panel now part of the screen, but formerly in the pavement an inscription states:

Alfano fieri tibi Fecit Virgo Maria
Et Genetrix regis summi Patris Alma Sophya²⁶

Around the marble disk of the cathedra is etched the name, not of Calixtus, but of Alfano: "Alfano fieri tibi Fecit Virgo Maria". And in what seems to have been an act approaching superbia, along with the name of

²² A. Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora quae in Italiae finibus adhuc extant iussu Pii XII pontificis maximi edita*, vol. 1 Roma, pars I: *Inscriptiones certam temporis notam exhibentes* (Vatican City, 1943), Tab. XXIV, 2; Giovenale, *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, pp. 171–72; Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 170; Calixtus restored the former relics under the altar, and added new ones. Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 635. Ian Short criticizes other authors for taking it as a fact that Calixtus II participated in the execution of the frescoes in Santa Maria in Cosmedin. He points out that all that is known of Calixtus' involvement with the church is that he appointed his nephew cardinal deacon, and consecrated its altar in 1123. Ian Short, "Le pape Calixte II, Charlemagne et les fresques de Santa Maria in Cosmedin," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970), 229–38 at p. 238.

²³ John Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfano in S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, and its place in the Tradition of Roman Funerary Monuments," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983), 240–247, at pp. 244, 246–247. Osborne concludes that if classicizing innovations are not found in the formula—sarcophagus, canopy and enclosed mural—they may be present in the architectural surroundings. He thinks that the column and pediment arrangement and the carving—an attempt to produce a type of "Corinthian" capital and band of simulated acanthus foliage—can be placed in the context of the Roman *renovatio*. See also Herklotz, *Sepulchra e Monumenta*, pp. 143, 156, 161.

²⁴ Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfano," p. 243; Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri Edifici di Roma dal Secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* 14 vols., 4 (Rome, 1869–1884) #742, p. 305. The inscription is dated May 6, 1123, the same date as the consecration.

²⁵ Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfano," pp. 241–242.

²⁶ Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 4, #744, p. 306; Osborne, "The Tomb of Alfano," p. 242.

the pope whom he served, Alfanus had his own engraved on the inscription commemorating the consecration of the altar.²⁷ It would not have been unusual to include the name of the titular cardinal beside that of the pope, but to honor a papal functionary in such a way was extraordinary.²⁸ This signal distinction was probably a tribute to Alfanus' generous contributions to Santa Maria, but more importantly, it is evidence of Calixtus' direct involvement in the decoration of the church, for Alfanus was not an independent entity. He was acting for a pope, who was keenly sensitive to the enormous potential of using religious symbolism for political purposes.

The decorations in Santa Maria are infused with classical overtones. The beautiful *opus sectile* pavement forms a virtual carpet of stone.²⁹ The cross of consecration fashioned with cosmatesque mosaics and encased within a framework of white marble, the tomb of Alfanus, and other furnishings all advertise their Roman origins.³⁰ This style appears to reflect the inspiration of Alfanus, in all probability an Italian, and possibly a Roman. But if the furnishings were products of the *renovatio*, they were nevertheless executed with Calixtus' blessings, and are thus evidence of his willingness to support Roman attitudes toward church ornamentation. He could have imported architectural and decorative innovations from his native Burgundy, reflecting the ideals of the Cistercians or the fantasies of the Romanesque basilicas, but he did not. At the very least he acquiesced in the Roman and classical revival in Rome, and he did not use the reconstitution of Santa Maria as an opportunity to identify himself with the spirituality emanating from the North.

B. FRESCOS

In the remodeling frescoes, now badly decomposed, were painted on the upper level of the nave. The function of these frescoes was to teach.

²⁷ May 6, 1123, Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 4, #743, p. 306: "Anno MCXXIII Ind(i)c(tione) I E(st) Dedicatu(m) Hoc Altare per manus Do(mini) Calixti PP II Su(i) Pontificatus anno mense maio die VI Alfano Camerario eius Dona plurima largiente."

²⁸ Giovenale points out that the inclusion of the name of a *camerarius* was highly unusual, especially when that of the titular of the church was omitted. He speculates that the reason for this anomaly is that Stephen was appointed bishop of Metz at the same time as he was appointed cardinal deacon, and that he left for Metz shortly after peace was reached with the emperor in 1122. Thus, he was outside of Rome during the construction. Giovenale suggests that since there was no titular until 1134, Alfanus stepped in and munificently refurbished the church. However, there is evidence that Stephen was on the scene during the long period that such reconstruction would have required. He signed a papal letter at the Lateran on April 6, 1123, (JL 7056) and his signature appeared again on March 28, 1126; Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 233; Giovenale, *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, p. 172.

²⁹ For the iconology of cosmatesque pavements see Dorothy F. Glass, *Studies on Cosmatesque Pavements*; BAR International Series 82 (Oxford, 1980), pp. 48–54.

³⁰ Giovenale, *S. Maria in Cosmedin*, pp. 175–79.

The Second Council of Nicaea of 787 had prescribed that walls of naves be painted with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, and the *Libri Carolini*, written during the reign of Charlemagne, addressed themselves to the issue of whether it was permissible to decorate church walls with scenes of historical episodes as a means of inspiring their viewers. The lower series are now all but undecipherable, but they were distinct enough in the 1920s for G. B. Giovenale to determine that they were scenes from the New Testament.³¹ He argued that the frescoes above them on the one side were depictions of scenes from the life of the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar, taken from the Book of Daniel, and that those on the other illustrated events in the life of Charlemagne. If he were right, there would be a strong presumption that Calixtus used these frescoes to transmit his views on kingship, and possibly even on the king of his time, Henry V.

Although Giovenale has not incontrovertibly proved that the first series of frescoes are scenes from the Book of Daniel, his arguments are persuasive, and so far no one has disproved them.³² Some scenes, such as the depiction of a dream of Nebuchadnezzar in which a huge stone destroys a colossal statue, and then turns into a mountain (Dan. 2.31–35) are so specific that it is almost impossible to imagine that they could be of any other origin. Only one is highly dubious. Giovenale speculates that a massacre scene is taken from the reign of Darius rather than from that of Nebuchadnezzar. He claims that it was not any more unusual to interweave different stories in a series than not to follow a strict chronological sequence.³³ Nevertheless, the inclusion of an outside scene would have been confusing for the viewer, who was following a certain narrative. Since the artist was attempting to instruct his viewers, it is improbable that he would have inserted a scene, which would interfere with their comprehension.

In spite of that inconsistency, the frescoes do appear to depict the Nebuchadnezzar stories, which were not commonly included among the repertory of ecclesiastical decorations.³⁴ For this reason one suspects that they were painted with a very specific intent, just as the Book of Daniel appears to have been written as a parallel to an earlier situation. It is

³¹ Ibid., 235–240.

³² Ibid., 198–206; Kitzinger feels that the evidence is still not conclusive. “The Arts,” n. 28, p. 643.

³³ Ibid., 204–205; for an analysis of the frescoes, which follows the views of Giovenale, see Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura Politica del Medioevo Romano* (Rome, 1964), pp. 41–53; pp. 41–46 for the Daniel scenes.

³⁴ Matthiae, *Pittura Politica*, p. 45.

thought to have been written between 167–163 B.C., just after the Maccabean revolt had succeeded in thwarting Antiochus IV's attempt to hellenize the Jews, in part by eradicating their religion.³⁵ Thereafter the Jewish people faced the problem of how to proceed. The author is suggesting that the wise man, Daniel, responded to questions arising during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar with answers applicable to the Jewish people in his own time. Likewise, whoever conceived the paintings in Santa Maria in Cosmedin may have used the repressiveness of Nebuchadnezzar as an analogue to the German kings at the time of the Investiture Contest. Just as the Hebrews resisted the tyranny of the Babylonian king, so also the Christians under the leadership of the reform papacy resisted the incursions of the emperor, and in the end, gained their freedom.

This interpretation would be particularly attractive if the other cycle represented the good king, Charlemagne. As we shall see, however, that identification is problematical, and an analogy embedded solely within the Daniel cycle also could apply to the political situation of 1123. At the end of his life the tyrannical Babylonian king gave up his pernicious ways, and became a good king. Following the years of insanity predicted by Daniel, he regained the soundness of his mind, recognized the dominion of the true God, and was reestablished in his kingdom with increased majesty (Dan. 4). In like manner, the author of the frescoes could be saying that after having tyrannized the church, Henry V returned to sanity, acknowledged the freedom of the church, and entered into the Concordat of Worms with Calixtus II.

That other scholars have not entertained this possibility is not surprising, because until recently many of them have seen the Daniel, and what they believed to be the Charlemagne cycles as representing the bad king and the good king.³⁶ This interpretation is no longer found to be convincing, and instead the second cycle is thought to represent scenes from the book of Ezekiel, a conclusion Giovenale briefly considered, and then rejected.³⁷ Each scene appears unmistakably to be identified with an

³⁵ Samuel Sandmel, *The Hebrew Scriptures: An Introduction to their Literature and Religious Ideas* (New York, 1963), p. 228.

³⁶ In addition to Giovenale, Hélène Toubert, "Le Renouveau Paléochrétien à Rome au Début du XII^e Siècle," *Cahiers Archéologiques fin de L'Antiquité et Moyen Age* 20 (1970), 99–154; Idem, *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris, 1990); Matthiae, *Pittura Politica*, p. 49.

³⁷ Short, "Le Pape Calixte II,," Kitzinger, "The Arts," p. 643 & n. 28; Fernanda De'Maffei, "Riflessi dell'epopea carolingia nell'arte medievale: il ciclo di Carlo Magno a Roma," pp. 351–386 of *La Poesia Epica e la sua Formazione* (Atti del Convegno internazionale sul Tema, Roma 28 Marzo– 3 Aprile 1969). *Problemi Attuali di Scienza e di Cultura*; Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Anno CCCLXVII—1970, Quaderno N. 139 (Rome, 1970).

event in the life of Ezekiel.³⁸ The painter merely seems to have been following the tradition of portraying Old Testament scenes forshadowing the coming of Christ depicted in the New Testament scenes painted on the lower level. It is probable that following the Commentaries of St. Jerome, the author saw Ezekiel as a precursor of Christ.³⁹

If there is a moral to the paintings beyond that message, it may relate to the theme of the first chapters of Ezekiel, which present a series of visions foreseeing the imminent destruction of Jerusalem because the Jews had rebelled against God. It could be argued that in both the Daniel and Ezekiel cycles the author was implying that rebellion against God as represented by the church leads to destruction.

C. PAPAL THRONE

Although doubts may linger over the interpretation of the frescoes, few exist over the papal throne (plate 2). In this august piece of sculpted marble Calixtus reveals his conception of the papacy.⁴⁰ Its outstanding features are the nimbus on the back of the throne and the majestic lions serving as arm rests. The center of the nimbus is a disk of porphyry, the red marble symbolizing royalty.⁴¹ From this center radiate cosmatesque mosaics producing the effect of a brilliant burst of sun, the like of which had not been seen since late antiquity. Constantine, especially, used this image. Three steps ascend to the throne.⁴²

³⁸ For contrary views see Rita Lejeune & Jacques Stiennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du Moyen Age*. 2 vols. (Brussels, 1966); Matthiae, *Pittura Politica*, pp. 50–51.

³⁹ PL 25:103.

⁴⁰ For the papal throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin as well as those in San Clemente and San Lorenzo in Lucina, which will be discussed below, see Francesco Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di Sculture Antiche nei Troni Papali del XII Secolo," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 47 (1974/5), 203–218; see also Michele Maccarrone, "Die Cathedra Sancti Petri im Hochmittelalter. Vom Symbol des päpstlichen Amtes zum Kultobject," *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1980), 171–206; Karl Noehles, "Die Kunst der Cosmaten und die Idee der Renovatio Romae," pp. 17–27 of *Festschrift Werner Hager*, ed. Günter Fiensch & Max Imdahl (Recklinghausen, 1966), p. 24, & ns. 35, 35a; Josef Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman period in Sicily* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 140–141.

⁴¹ The disk is strikingly similar to the large porphyry rota in St. Peter's, which played a key roll in imperial coronation ceremonies. See, for example, Iacobus Grimaldi, *Instrumenta autentica Translationum Sanctorum corporum et sacrarum reliquiarum et eveteri in novum templum sancti Petri cum multis memoriis, epitaphiis, inscriptionibus, delineatione patris basilicae demolitae, et Iconicis historiis sacrae confessionis ab eodem summo Pontifice magnificissime exornata* (1619) Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 107v: "Ante altare sanctissimi Sacramenti Rota porphyretica magna et pulcherrima integra . . . dum agitur de coronatione imperatoris, ubi una oratio super ipsum caesarem dicebatur."

⁴² In addition to the thrones in San Clemente and San Lorenzo in Lucina see, by contrast, the thrones portrayed in the *Chronicon Vulturense*, Barb. Lat. 2724. In fols. 102r and 203r, for example, the thrones are on floor level. The low backs and arm rests are decorated, but with no imperial symbols such as the lions or the porphyry disk of the throne of Calixtus.

Lions were used as multiple symbols in the Middle Ages, but their sudden appearance with the reform papacy purposefully associated these popes with the Old Testament kings and the Roman emperors. Lions stood beside both arms of the throne of the Biblical King Solomon and on either side of the six steps leading to the throne. Like the throne of Calixtus, the top of the throne of Solomon "was round behind."⁴³ The image was still visible in the third century in the frescoes in the Synagogue of Dura-Europos.⁴⁴ The most famous copy of the throne stood in the imperial palace of Constantinople, where it was the setting for the spectacular ceremonies staged there. In his judicial capacity Solomon was thought to have been the forerunner of popes. Donizo compared Gregory VII to Solomon, and Mathilda to the queen of Sheba in his *Vita* of the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany.⁴⁵

Emperors also identified with the noble lion, and in the twelfth century monuments using the lion motif existed in Rome. The most perspicuous among them was the obelisk in the Vatican, the so called needle of Caesar, which rested on a base of the figures of four lions.⁴⁶ According to Master Gregory, an English monk writing most probably at the beginning of the thirteenth century, pilgrims made strenuous efforts to crawl underneath the four bronze lions supporting the needle.

It has also been suggested that the lions in the papal throne may have been patterned after the ones supporting the throne of Christ sculpted in one of the scenes on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.⁴⁷ A young, beardless Christ holding a scroll in each hand is seated in celestial glory between two bearded figures. The scene could portray the young Christ's teaching in the temple, or the *traditio legis*. Just as God had given the laws to Moses, in the *traditio legis* Christ transmitted the law to his

⁴³ 1 Kings 10.18–20.

⁴⁴ Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di Sculture," p. 205; C. H. Kraeling, C. C. Torrey, C. B. Welles, B. Geiger, *The Excavations of Dura-Europos. Final Report VIII, Part I, The Synagogue* (New Haven, 1956), pp. 157–159.

⁴⁵ *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab anno aerae Christianae quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1723–1738, new ed. 1900–) vol. 2, p. 62; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 121 & ns. 176–181. Herklotz argues that the pope was the new David as well as the new Solomon.

⁴⁶ As reported by Master Gregory. Gregorius, *Narracio de Mirabilibus urbis Romae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1970), pp. 28–29; Master Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome*, tr. John Osborne (Toronto, 1987), pp. 34–35; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 121; Cesare d'Onofrio, *Gli Obelischi di Roma* 2nd ed. (Rome, 1967), p. 20. The *Liber Floridus* shows an illustration of Augustus seated on a throne with four lions. He holds a sword and a globe of the tripartite world—Asia, Europa and Africa. *Liber Floridus*, ed. Derolez, p. 280.

⁴⁷ Kitzinger, "The Arts," p. 640 & n. 14; Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di Sculture," p. 204; Friedrich Gerke, *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 25–27 & tav. 2, 5. Junius Bassus was a prefect in Rome, who died in 359; his sarcophagus was originally placed in San Andrea Catabarbara. Castagnoli et al., *Topografia e Urbanistica di Roma* pt. II, Cecchelli, *Roma Medioevale*, p. 236; Cecchelli, *Le Arti Minori*, p. 687.

disciples.⁴⁸ Junius Bassus was one of the most important patricians in the fourth century, and at some point his sarcophagus was transferred to St. Peter's. It was discovered in 1597 before the altar in the crypt while Clement VIII was building the cappella Clementina.⁴⁹ Given the level at which it was found, it most likely would have been located in St. Peter's at the time that the throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin was being designed.

But in the twelfth century the lion motif transcended these relatively modest implications. Illustrations from a thirteenth century manuscript of *Storie de Troja et de Roma*, but based upon a Latin text, *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, written in the first part of the twelfth century, associate lions with Rome and the Roman empire.⁵⁰ Lions were a common symbol of the city of Rome, and nowhere can one see this association more clearly than in the illustration showing the map of Rome shaped as a lion (plate 3).⁵¹ As Honorius Augustodunensis wrote, "Roma formam leonis habet, quia ceteris bestiis preest."⁵²

In another illustration the ornately dressed lady representing *Roma caput mundi* is seated on a cathedra flanked by two lions. She is crowned and holds the imperial symbols of the orb and the frond (plate 4).⁵³ The final illustration portrays the triumph of *Ecclesia Romana* (plate 5). It shows a lady with a nimbus, dressed in the Byzantine style. In her right hand she holds a tripartite orb—*mundus*—on top of which an angel holding an orifiamma is kneeling. In her left she holds a model of the church. She is standing on a crouched lion, on top of which cringe a winged dragon and a serpent, which she is crushing under her feet. According to the legend the lion signifies the *imperium romanum*.⁵⁴ The

⁴⁸ For references dealing with the interpretation of this scene see Gerke, *Der Sarkophag*, "Literatur," p. II.

⁴⁹ B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi, E. Kirschbaum, pref. L. Kass, *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli Anni 1940–1949* 2 vols., 1 (Vatican City, 1951), pp. 220–222.

⁵⁰ Ernesto Monaci, ed. *Storie de Troja et de Roma otherwise called Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*. Miscellanea della R. Società di Storia Patria (Rome, 1920). The editor (pp. XXXVI, LVII) concludes that the *Liber* is a work of an unknown Roman grammarian, possibly Petrus Diaconus, written in the first half of the twelfth century before the *Mirabilia* (c. 1142). He suggests that the illustrations are copies of the originals except for *Ecclesia Romana* at the end of the text. Tilo Brandis & Otto Pächt, *Historia Romanorum. Codex 151 in scrinio der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg* (Frankfurt, 1974); Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, pp. 116, 123; Cecchelli, *Le Arti Minori*, pp. 607–610.

⁵¹ Ibid., LII; Cod. Hamburg C. 107 B. In the thirteenth century a living lion replaced the wolf as the custodian of the Capitoline.

⁵² *Liber de imagine mundi*, lib. I, ch. 28, PL 172:129. Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 123; Brandis & Pächt, *Historia Romanorum*, pp. 209–210.

⁵³ *Storie de Troja*, ed. cit., p. LI; Cod. Hamburg C. 97 B.

⁵⁴ Ibid., LVI; Cod. Hamburg C. 123 B. The legend declares that the woman is *Ecclesia Romana*, that the globe is *mundus*, and that the church is the *Ecclesia Dei*. The lion *conculcato* signifies the *imperium romanum*, and the angel holding the banner on the globe signifies the *triumphus clericorum*. The crushing of the snake, lizard, lion and dragon

theme is the transference of power from the empire to the church through the medium of the Donation of Constantine, illustrated a few pages before.⁵⁵ Taken together these illustrations show that by incorporating the symbol of the lion in the papal throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Calixtus boldly identified the pope as the successor of the Caesars and the ruler of Rome.

He also identified himself with Gregory VII—the pope most noted among his predecessors for challenging the prerogatives of the Caesars, and for claiming their imperial attributes for the papacy. In a magnificent late eleventh-century Exultet Roll from the territory of Montecassino, the portrait of the emperor is austere (plate 6).⁵⁶ The pope, by contrast, is seated on a throne, the sides of which are lions with paws thrust forward and jaws open. He bears a strong resemblance to Gregory VII. Circumstances suggest that the lion motif was modeled on the throne in the cathedral of Salerno, where griffins supported the arms. Remodeled under its archbishop, Alfanus, the cathedral was consecrated between 1084–1085. This was the very period in which Gregory VII was in exile in Salerno, and the symbolism quite probably reflects his ideas. Since Montecassino and Salerno were very close, it is also probable that the papal throne in the Exultet Roll was modeled after the throne in the

goes back to Psalm 91.13: "Super aspidem et basiliscum calcabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem." It was frequently commented upon during the middle ages. Augustine interprets it as the triumph of the invincible church over different conceptions of the devil: the lion, rage against the new belief; the dragon, heretics; the lizard, the devil himself; it rules over the snakes, while the devil is king of the demons. Honorius Augustodunensis, who died in 1137, identifies the lion with Antichrist, the asp with death, the lizard with sins, and the dragon with the *Diabolus inimicus Filii virginis*. "Christus itaque super aspidem et basiliscum ambulavit, dum peccatum et mortem superavit: leonem et draconem conculcabit, dum Antichristum et diabolum in iudicio in stagnum ignis praecipitabit." PL 194:561. The Vita of Benedict III (855–858) states: "... in basilica Salvatoris quae Constantiniana dicitur, ipsius Redemptoris domini nostri Iesu Christi mire pulchritudinis ex argento purissimo auroque perfusam [Benedictus] fecit iconam, leonem draconemque conculcantem, pens. lib. XVI semis." *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 144. For references and a discussion of the artistic motifs see Ingo Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus II.' im Lateranpalast und ihre Fresken Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des Investiturstreits," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989), 145–214 at pp. 177, 181–182 & ns. 96, 114, 115.

⁵⁵ Ibid., XLIX–L; The illustrations—C. 120 B.—are very similar to those of the baptism of Constantine and the transference of the tiara from Constantine to Sylvester in the chapel of S. Silvestro in Quattro Coronati, restored by Innocent IV in 1246; Paschal rebuilt the church after the devastations by the Normans, and possibly the theme was his.

⁵⁶ Barbarini Lat. 592; Myrtila Avery, "The Barbarini Exultet Roll in the Vatican Library," *Casimensia* (Miscellanea di studi cassinesi pubblicati in occasione del XIV centenario della fondazione della badia di Montecassino) (Montecassino, 1929), pp. 243–246; Idem, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (London, the Hague, 1936), plates CXLVII–CLIII; P. Baldass, "Die Miniaturen zweier Exultet-Rollen: London add. 30337; Vat. Barb. Lat. 592," *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), 75–88, 205–219; Francesco Gandolfo, "Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale," *Studi Romani* 29 (1981), 9–28 at p. 9; Ignazio Baldelli, "Le 'Ystorie' dell'Exultet Barberiniano," *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 17 (1959), 97–125, esp. p. 124. Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 121 & n. 175.

cathedral.⁵⁷ More remotely, and based mainly on the identity of their names, it has been suggested that the Alfano of Santa Maria in Cosmedin may have been the nephew of the archbishop of Salerno. If this were the case, the connection between Santa Maria in Cosmedin and Salerno would have been all the closer.

The Gregorian conception of the papacy drew on the Donation of Constantine, but went beyond it. Gregory greatly enhanced the power and majesty of the office in the *Dictatus Papae*, where he asserted that emperors can be deposed by popes, that popes alone can use imperial insignia, and that the pope is sanctified by the merits of St. Peter.⁵⁸ A pope sitting on the throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, flanked by the lions, and surrounded by the halo, would represent the fruition of Gregory's claims. The throne is visual testimony that Calixtus continued the tradition of his bold predecessor, symbolizing at the end of his reign what had been portended at the beginning when the archbishop of Cologne greeted him as *victoriosi triumphi imperator*.⁵⁹

Whatever concessions Calixtus made to Henry V over episcopal elections and investitures in the Concordat of Worms, he conceded no papal prerogatives. Nowhere does he clearly articulate the claim that the pope holds the highest authority in both the ecclesiastical and secular spheres, and that he grants the emperor his *imperium*, but the throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin at the least implies that the pope held the rulership over the church, and it suggests that his authority extended to the secular realm as well.

⁵⁷ A. Pantoni, "La Basilica di Montecassino e quella di Salerno ai tempi di Gregorio VII," *Benedictina* 10 (1956), 23–47; A. Capone, "Il duomo di Salerno," *Salerno* (Salerno, 1927–29), vol. I, p. 40; vol. II, pp. 66–67, 69–70.

⁵⁸ Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State 1050–1300* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), pp. 49–50; Percy Ernst Schramm, "Sacerdotium und Regnum im Austausch ihrer Vorrechte: 'imitatio imperii' und 'imitatio sacerdotii': Eine geschichtliche Skizze zur Beleuchtung des 'Dictatus papae' Gregors VII.," *Studi Gregoriani per la storia di Gregorio VII e della riforma gregoriana* 2 (1947), 403–457; idem, "Die Imitatio imperii in der Zeit des Reformpapstums," in idem et al., *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* 3 vols. 3 (Stuttgart, 1956), pp. 713–722; both articles are repr. idem, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 4.1 (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 57–102, 180–186; Herklotz emphasizes that by the twelfth century there was a long tradition of porphyry sepulchres that had their roots in the cult of the saints. Thus, the papal use of porphyry implied both imperialization and sanctification. He suggests that following the *Dictatus Papae*, where the pope is both *sanctus* by the merits of St. Peter, and has the right to use the imperial insignia, that the porphyry disk on the papal throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin combined both. *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, pp. 113–114 & n. 119.

⁵⁹ Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste* 4.1, n. 26, pp. 183–184.

Chapter 2

THE LATERAN: ANTIPOPE AS FOOTSTOOLS

In Santa Maria in Cosmedin the message embedded within the imagery of the furniture and the paintings was implied. In the paintings in the Lateran Palace it was not only explicit, but boldly propagandistic. There in Constantine's palace Calixtus celebrated the triumph of the reform papacy over the imperial popes, and flaunted his superiority over the emperor.¹ As the victor over Gregory VIII, or Burdinus as his challenger was more derisively called, it was he who cast the majestic pose, while the emperor stood almost alone at the side of the painting. The frescoes were the jewel in the crown, but they were part of a vast, comprehensive enterprise. Calixtus transformed the whole Lateran—grounds, basilica, and palace—into a center, where the pope could live comfortably, hold vast councils, and tighten his control over the church (plate 7).²

A. A NEW CONCENTRATION ON THE LATERAN

Calixtus greatly improved the grounds of the Lateran. He brought in water to create a lake for watering horses and for running several mills, and he planted orchards and vineyards.³ In the basilica he initiated what were to become four general councils, each of which commemorated a victory for the church. He summoned the first, a huge gathering to celebrate the signing of the Concordat of Worms concluding the Investiture

¹ Ingo Herklotz argues persuasively that the basic theme of the frescoes was not the Investiture Contest. Rather, he believes that the paintings served as historical exempla depicting the position of the pope. "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 211.

² Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 5, pp. 1–96.

³ Boso, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 379: "Hic etiam derivavit aquam de antiquis formis et ad portam Lateranensem conduxit, ibique lacum pro adaquandis equis fieri fecit; plurima quoque molendina in eadem aqua construxit, et multas vineas cum fructiferis arboribus secus ipsum lacum plantari studioissime fecit." Pandulfus presents a more succinct account: "Aquam ad Urbem reduxit, molendina cum vineis iuxta lacum aptavit," *ibid.*, 323. Panvinus also mentions the improvements to the grounds. Onophrius Panvinus, *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctioribusque basilicis quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant* (Rome, 1570), p. 177: "Idem etiam Pontifex [Calixtus II] aquam ex antiqua forma ad portam Lateranensem corruavit, lacumque equorum potui ibidem fecit, & aliquos supra ipsum rium molas palatij usibus construxit, vineas quadam secus lacum arboribus fructiferis refertas ad pontificum oblectationem plantavit." Idem, *De Sacrosancta Basilica, Baptisterio, et Patriarchio Lateranensi*, ed. Philippe Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran*, (Paris, 1911) p. 478. Hereafter cited as *Description du Latran*.

Contest.⁴ Although the truce brought peace to a troubled world, not all of his contemporaries agreed that it was a papal victory.

Even more than the basilica, Calixtus focused his attention on the palace. Panvinus says that he was the first pope since Leo IV to make major restorations. The deterioration of the building had resulted from the neglect of the reform popes, who were frequently forced to flee from imperial forces or rebellious Romans. Calixtus built a virtual palace within a palace—a *vestiarium* on the ground level, and two adjoining rooms and a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas above.⁵ The rooms were the

⁴ Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 459: "Primus Callixtus Papa II, anno Domini MCXXIII, Laterani in basilica Sancti Salvatoris, vere generale Concilium episcoporum et abbatum CMXCVII ex toto orbe latino congregatorum, diuturno schismate sublato, celebravit, in quo tractatum est de memorabili illa pace et concordia quam super sacerdotiorum Investituris Romana Sedes cum Imperio sub Henrico V Augusto transegit, in qua Imperator liberam omnium episcopatum et Abbatiarum de suis praelatijs electionem fieri promisit, cum ante id tempus Imperatorum et Regum arbitrio crearentur." Idem, *De rebus basilicae S. Petri*, ed. Mai, pp. 194–382, Lib. IV, Cap. XVI where Panvinus emphasizes Calixtus' accomplishments, and magnifies the number of delegates to the council: "sub Callisto II. papa, longissimo et perniciosissimo schismate, quod per quinquaginta plus minus annos inter pontifices, et imperatores romanos vigerat, sedato, Romae tum primum celebrari sunt coepta. Hoc unum papale munus Laterani, non ad sanctum Petrum, transactum est, quod ob praelatorum commoditatem omnino est factum, quorum adeo ingens multitudo Romam confluebat, ut episcopos et abbates, quibus in conciliis suffragandi ius est, mille iterum atque tertio Romam ad concilium convenisse constat."

⁵ Writing in 1134 Pandulfus mentioned only one room: "... aecclesiam sancti Nicolai in palatio fecit, cameram ampliavit et pingi sicut apparet hodie miro modo praecepit." *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 323; in 1164 Boso stated more expansively: "Hic a fundamento construxit in palatio Lateranensi capellam sancti Nycolai ad assiduum Romanorum pontificum usum, iuxta quam edificavit duas cameras contiguas cum toto vestario quod sub eis fieri fecit, unam videlicet cubicularem et pro secretis consiliis alteram." *ibid.*, 378–379. Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, pp. 478, 482: "Callixtus II vestiarius in patriarchio Lateranensis sub duabus a se constructis cameris ut supra dixi condidit. Neque de vestiario quicquam praeterea inveni." Grimaldi (Vat. Barb. 34, 50) cites Panvinus and then presents his own description, *ibid.* 581 and 584. Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, pp. 172–173: "Post Leonem IIII longo annorum intervallo . . . neminem inueni usque ad Callisti Papae II. tempora, qui aliquid in patriarchio construxerit. Is anno domini MCXIX. creatus, pace cum Henrico V. Imperatore post sexaginta fere annorum dissidium facta, animum ad reparandum patriarchium Lateranense, diuturni schismatis causa a superioribus pontificibus diu uexatis et pro fugis negligentius habitum, & ideo ruinae expositum, conuertit. Ante omnia igitur in medio palatio interiori a fundamentis aedificauit Oratorium siue aediculam in honorem s. Nicolae Episcopi, pulchram, & oblongam, cum tecto ligneo imbricato, quam etiam totam pinxit, in cuius absida eos omnes Romanos pontifices, qui ante se fuerunt, ab Alexandro II deinceps pingi iussit, quamquam foedissima pictura . . . Hanc porro aediculam peculiari Romani pontificis usui ipse condidit: iuxta quam idem Pontifex duo coniuncta conclauia sive cubacula, sub quibus uestiarius, idest, guardarobam addidit, construxit. Cubiculatorum uero unum iconiis picturis exornauit, quod audiente addixit, & rebus publicis tractandis." Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 307r: "Retro aediculam Sancti Nicolae alia duo cubacula a fundamentis fecit cum vestiario seu guardarobba, duoque coniuncta conclavia condidit ad audientiam publicam iconicis picturis exornata: Schismata Alexandri secundi cum Cadalao Parmense, Gregorii VII, Victoris III et Urbani secundi cum Giberto Ravennate, et Paschalis cum tribus aliis adulterinis pontificibus, postremo pacem quam ipse cum Henrico V imperatore fecit." fol. 315v: "Scribit Panvinus quod in cubiculis sacri palatii Lateranensis a Callisto secundo aedificatis et picturis ornatis erat inter alia quomodo Callistus ipse pacem inierat cum Henrico V imperatore." See fols. 304v–305r for one of the best representations

camera pro secretis consiliis and a *cubicularius*. Calixtus placed them at a particularly important juncture of the second story—adjacent to the large and ceremonially important triclinium of Leo III.⁶

The triclinium was the showplace for the *consistorium* when it met in public sessions of important judicial proceedings. In these sessions laymen and clerics alike could view the spectacle of a case being presented before the papal court.⁷ It was also the site of other notable occasions such as the festive dinners following the stational services. These services were special masses celebrated by the pope in the Lateran and in other churches, and the processions from the Lateran to these churches and back again were rich in pageantry. Such events furnished lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries frequent opportunities to visit this imposing hall, and its proximity would have afforded easy access to the rooms constructed by Calixtus.

Calixtus appears to have had an overall plan and objective when he built the chapel, the rooms, and the *vestiarius* as a cohesive unit. He designated the *camera pro secretis consiliis* and the *cubicularius* for functions of a less formal nature than the elaborate ceremonies held in the triclinium.⁸ Although public conclaves were held in these chambers, their smaller size lent them to informal judicial sessions and more private

of the Lateran Basilica and Palace with a key to the identity of the rooms; For an excellent edition of Barb. Lat. 2733 see Retto Niggli, *Descrizione della Basilica Antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano—Vat. Barb. 2733* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972); Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 154–155 & ns. 27, 28 for further references. On p. 156 Herklotz reproduces a sketch of the palace, basilica and surrounding area drawn by Francesco Contini before 1630. He believes that the plan of the Sancta Sanctorum (p. 157) in the Albertina collection completed before 1647 has not been sufficiently exploited. See also pp. 155–157 & ns. 29, 30; idem, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, pp. 92–95.

⁶ Ingo Herklotz, "Der Mittelalterliche Fassadenportikus der Lateranbasilika und seine Mosaiken," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1989), 25–95, at pp. 80–81, & n. 194 for literature on the significance of the mosaics in the triclinium.

⁷ Hariulf, the abbot of Oudenburg, presents a fascinating account of a case, which he brought before the papal tribunal: "Tunc cancellarius Aymericus tenens manum abbatis duxit illum ad consistorium palatii, ubi in tribunali residebat dominus papa et cardinales a dextris eius; Romanorum vero nobiliores calamistrati et sericis amicti circa vestigia eius stabant vel sedebant . . ." Ernst Müller, "Der Bericht des Abtes Hariulf von Oudenburg über seine Prozessverhandlungen an der römischen Kurie im Jahre 1141," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930), 97–115 at p. 102; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 162 & n. 43; Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, pp. 124, 128.

⁸ Hariulf describes his presentation of evidence in a smaller session of the curia. "Tandem nona die adventus sui posuit ei dominus papa diem et locum, scilicet in cubiculo suo, et convocatis cardinalibus introductus est abbas in idem cubiculum iussusque est sedere in scabello pedum pontificis, ubi sedebat et cancellarius." Müller, *Der Bericht des Abtes Hariulf*, p. 104. Grimaldi (Vat. Barb. 34, 50) notes that the rooms were used for public audiences. Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 581: "duoque conuncta conclavia condidit ad audientiam publicam iconiciis picturis exornata." Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 161–166, 212. Among the many early descriptions of the Aula Leoniniana, Panvinus *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, pp. 481–482; Grimaldi (Vat. Barb. 34, 50) *ibid.*, 581–582.

meetings of the pope with his cardinals and visiting prelates.⁹ Upon returning from stational services the pope left his liturgical garments in these rooms, and after having granted the *presbyterium* to the officials who had participated in the ceremony, he entered the triclinium for the banquet.¹⁰

The college of chaplains—the pope's personal staff—also used these rooms. In addition to their liturgical duties they performed administrative tasks for the chancery. They drew up papal documents, and undoubtedly participated in discussions with the cardinals over the content of those documents.¹¹ The chapel of St. Nicholas appears to have been especially devoted to their needs.¹²

The *vestiarium* traditionally served as a kind of storage place for precious liturgical objects. Panvinus and Grimaldi speak of the *vestiarium* as a *guardarobba*, which in sixteenth century terminology may have meant that vestments also were deposited there. The treasures in the *vestiarium* had been put under the protection of a *vestararius*, but during the reform period this title was no longer mentioned.¹³ Instead, his functions were said to be performed by a *thesaurarius*, a name which suggests that the *vestiarium* was becoming more like a treasury.

The construction of this administrative center at the time of the formation of the office of the *camerarius domini papae* is not likely to have been fortuitous. When Calixtus fetched his *camerarius* from Cluny to Rome, he needed space for him to work, and a treasury to store the wealth. Such riches as the "benedictions" donated by Diego of Santiago de Compostella and the new revenues Calixtus exacted from monasteries had to be stowed in a secure place.¹⁴ The *vestiarium* would have been the perfect niche, while the written transactions were handled upstairs. Essentially what Calixtus created in the Lateran palace was a hub for a much more highly centralized papacy. Its creation was a key link in a series of moves calculated to tighten the authority of the papacy over the church, and to strengthen it in relation to the emperor.

⁹ See n. 5 above.

¹⁰ Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 166 & ns. 59–61.

¹¹ Ibid., 167 & ns. 62–65; Reinhard Elze, "Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, KA 36 (1950), 145–204.

¹² Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 164–166–7, 169–173.

¹³ Ibid., 168 & ns. 69–71; Karl Jordan, "Die päpstliche Verwaltung im Zeitalter Gregors VII.," *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1980), 129–153 at 134–136.

¹⁴ Lauer, *Palais de Latran*, p. 172.

B. THE FRESCOES

Although Panvinus states that both of the second story rooms were painted with frescoes, only copies of those in the *camerarius pro secretis consiliis* have survived.¹⁵ In the eighteenth century Clement XII (1730–40) had the chapel and the adjoining rooms destroyed, but in the early 1930s Gerhart Ladner discovered sketches of the frescoes in a manuscript of *miscellanea*. He attributed them to Panvinus (1530–1568), and most of the scholarly world followed him in this assessment.¹⁶ However, in a recent study Ingo Herklotz demonstrates persuasively that the sketches were drawn by Alfonso Chacon (1530–1599) rather than by Panvinus.¹⁷ A drawing by a somewhat later hand in this sketchbook shows how much the visibility of the paintings had decreased in a short time, and the drawings of Cardinal Rasponi in the seventeenth century could have been little more than educated guesses.¹⁸

Four frescoes depicted the victory of the reform popes over their imperial rivals, and Calixtus' own ultimate triumph in his confrontation with Henry V.¹⁹ In each of the paintings the pope is enthroned, full-face, and flanked by senior prelates bearing crosses and croziers. Crushed under the feet of the popes were antipopes in fetal-like positions serving as *scabella*, footstools. Represented were: Alexander II over Cadolus (plate 8); Gregory VII, Victor III, and Urban II over Guibert (Clement III) (plate 9); Paschal II over Albert, Maginulf and Theodoric; Calixtus II over Burdinus (Gregory VIII) (plate 10). The last painting is distinguished

¹⁵ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, pp. 176–177: "Haec omnia in priori cubiculo [*camera pro secretis consiliis*] annotata sunt. Alterum vero cubiculum huic proximum & varijs picturis ornatum, particularibus Pontificum usibus Callistus papa addixit, quod adhuc semifractum, & sine tecto superest."

¹⁶ Cod. Barb. Lat. 2738, fols. 104r, 105v in the Biblioteca Vaticana. Panvinus describes the sketches and accompanying verses in *Septem Ecclesias*, pp. 173–180; idem, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 478; Grimalidi, ed. Lauer, p. 581; for Lauer's description, *ibid.*, 170–171; Gerhart Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi Ecclesiastico-Politici nell'Antico Palazzo Lateranense," *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana* 12 (1935), 265–292.

¹⁷ Ingo Herklotz, "Historia sacra und mittelalterliche Kunst während der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhundert in Rom," in *Baronio e l'arte*. Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi Sora 10–13 Ottobre 1984 (Sora, 1985), n. 26, pp. 35–36. For a biographical sketch of Panvinus see pp. 24–39, and for Chacon pp. 50–60; idem, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 146–147. The Latin name for "Chacon" is "Ciaconius", the spelling I use in various references.

¹⁸ Cod. Barb. Lat. 4423, fol. 25r in the Biblioteca Vaticana; Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 271 & n. 2.

¹⁹ Like his triumph after the capture of Burdinus Calixtus was probably following the example of the ancient Romans, who inscribed the names of the defeated in marble. Stephen Baluze, *Liber Tertius Miscellaneorum. Hoc est Collectio Veterum monumentorum que hactenus latuerant in variis codicibus ac bibliothecis* (Paris, 1680), p. 511: "Callistus ad exemplum veterum Romanorum, qui devictorum Regum ac populorum nomina titulosque marmoribus inscribi curabant, eam historiam in antiqua camera palatii Lateranensis depingi curavit . . ." For a description of the paintings and the standard sources and literature see Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 146–154.

from the others by the presence of Henry V. Standing, the emperor jointly holds with Calixtus II a scroll bearing the first words of his concession to the papacy in the Concordat of Worms.²⁰

Although he may have needed help from previous copies of the inscriptions, possibly including those transmitted by Otto of Freising, Panvinus was able to record all the verses but the first in their entirety:²¹

Regnat Alexander Cadolus cadet et superatur
 . . . , . . . , . nihilatur

Gregorius, Victor, Urbanus cathedram tenuerunt
 Gibertus cum suis tandem destructi fuerunt

Ecclesiae decus Paschalis papa secundus
 Albertum damnat, Mabinulfum, Theodericum.

Ecce Calixtus honor patriae, decus imperiale
 Nequam Burdinum damnat, pacemque reformat.

There are inconsistencies and other problems with the frescoes and inscriptions, which appear to be attributable to their indistinct condition when they were copied, and to the fact that the inscriptions did not

²⁰ Whether one was standing, sitting, or kneeling had great significance for the relationship between the two figures. A glance at imperial bulls and seals from this period reveals that emperors are usually seated full face with crown and scepter. R. M. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 2, pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 216–217. The imperial nature of the enthroned position is illustrated in a painting of Nero in the chapel of John VII in St. Peter's. He is crowned and sitting, while Peter and Paul stand, uncrowned, and with haloes. Grimaldi, fig. 38, Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 89r (plate 11). In the illustrations of the *Chronicon S. Sophiae Benevento* (Vat. Lat. 4939) the abbot, standing, receives the diploma from the king or the emperor, who is sitting. In the *Chronicon Vulturnense* (Barb. Lat. 2724), by contrast, the royal donor kneels before the holy protector, who is assisted by the abbots and monks; e.g. fol. 169v where two Byzantine emperors present a privilege to S. Vincenzo seated on a throne (plate 12); they are crowned but kneeling humbly. Since the most honored figure is always seated, an abbot kneels or stands before an enthroned pope to receive a bull of confirmation; e.g. fol. 102r where Paschal II confirms the monastery (plate 13). See also Antonio Muñoz, "Le Miniature del Chronicon Vulturnense," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 30 (Rome, 1909), 75–90. Muñoz points out (p. 89) that the artist, who directed the illustrations, did not have ancient models in front of him, and was influenced by contemporary forms.

²¹ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 174; idem, *Description du Latran*, p. 478; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 147–150 & n. 27; There is one discrepancy in the first inscription. In Vat. lat. 6781, fol. 270v, one of the manuscripts used by Lauer, the second line reads " . . . t annhilatur"; Herklotz, p. 201 for a facsimile of the MS. Herklotz analyzes the different scripts used in the copy of the inscriptions in Vat. Lat. 6781, fol. 270v to support his hypothesis that Panvinus did not transcribe all of the inscriptions from the wall, but relied upon other sources; pp. 201–202 & ns. 195–196. The scripts Panvinus reproduced in *Septem Ecclesias* also differ, but not in the same way as in Vat. Lat. 6781. Herklotz suggests that Panvinus copied the Alexander and Calixtus inscriptions from Otto of Freising, but in *Septem Ecclesias* the script of Alexander corresponds to that of Paschal, and that of Gregory, Victor, Urban to that of Calixtus; Ladner, "I Mosaici," pp. 275–76. See also the article of Christopher Walter published in two parts. "Papal political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace," *Cahiers Archéologiques fin de L'Antiquité et Moyen Age* 20 (1970), 155–176; *ibid.* 21 (1971), 109–136, pt. 1, pp. 165–166.

accompany the sketches. According to the identification of modern scholars the sketches were not drawn in chronological order.²² The consensus is that the first drawing on fol. 105v is that of Alexander II, and the second that of Paschal II; the first drawing on fol. 104r is that of Gregory VII, Victor III and Urban II, and the second of Calixtus II. In the sketch thought to portray Gregory VII, Victor III and Urban II only one pope is enthroned, but a figure behind him is wearing a tiara. Scholars suggest that possibly a third pope wearing a tiara also was present in the original fresco. In the same sketch it looks as though two antipopes are serving as a *scabellum*. This suspicion is strengthened by the appendage of the word “doi”, a rather common version of “due” or “two” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²³ Yet, only one antipope—Guibert—contested the legitimacy of these three popes.

By contrast, although three antipopes existed under Paschal, only one serves as a *scabellum* in the drawing identified with him. Adding to the confusion, in *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctoribus basilicis quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant* and in one of the manuscripts used by Lauer in editing the *Description du Latran*, Panvinus claims that Gelasius II was also portrayed with Paschal, and that there was more than one antipope (*quosdam schismaticos*).²⁴ Although it is possible that Panvinus modified his original notes—adding Gelasius II as the second pope—to place the sketches in chronological order, the graphic evidence also suggests that the drawing preceding Calixtus and Henry portrayed Paschal and Gelasius. The depiction of the second antipope would make sense if it were Paschal and Gelasius with their multiple antipopes, but not if it were Gregory, Victor and Urban with their one antipope. Since Chacon drew the sketches, he, rather than Panvinus, would have been responsible for the number of antipopes. Chacon’s sketches thus support Panvinus’ narrative.

Moreover, the argument that Calixtus did not include Gelasius because he did not triumph over Burdinus is not persuasive, since Urban is present, and he also did not triumph over Guibert. Since, however, the inscription does not mention Gelasius, Calixtus may have decided for

²² Herklotz, “Die Beratungsräume Calixtus’ II.,” p. 149.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 174: “Sub Paschalis uero, & Gelasii II. simulachris quosdam schismaticos pontifices sub pedibus tentibus, sunt hi alij due.” In Vat. Lat. 678I, compiled by several hands shortly after Panvinus’ death, and used by Lauer in his edition of the *Description du Latran*, there are two descriptions of the frescoes. In the first (fol. 223r) Gelasius II is not mentioned. In the second (fols. 270r–271r) he is. In his edition of Panvinus’ *Description* (p. 478) Lauer includes Gelasius. Herklotz believes that Ladner rightly saw the second version as a “restitution” of Panvinus to make the frescoes follow one another chronologically. “Die Beratungsräume Calixtus’ II.,” p. 200 & ns. 191–192 & n. 27, p. 147; Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 1, p. 198.

many possible reasons to leave him in the background. One such consideration might have been that there still were those in Rome, such as the Frangipani, who had violently opposed Gelasius. Calixtus did not want to alienate the volatile family, and he needed its support for the Concordat of Worms. Another reason might have been that to have omitted Gelasius would have implied a break in the line of reform popes. A solution to the dilemma would have been to include Gelasius in the background without mentioning his name. This strategy would also have had the advantage of enhancing Calixtus' own victory over Burdinus.

Since Calixtus was presenting a pictorial sequence in which his triumph over Henry and the emperor's pope was the climax, he would only have confused his viewers by distorting the chronological order. Moreover, even if half of the first three inscriptions were indistinct, enough of the lettering remained to link each of them to a certain pope. Since both the inscriptions and the character of the drawings follow a chronological order, the popes in the frescoes most probably proceeded according to succession: Alexander II; Gregory VII, Victor III, & Urban II; Paschal II with Gelasius II in the background; Calixtus II.

Although Panvinus only states that the privileges conceded by Henry to Calixtus were painted elsewhere on the walls, he transmits a copy of the charters of both Henry and Calixtus.²⁵ Since Panvinus reproduces both charters, most scholars have not questioned whether they were depicted. Ingo Herklotz, however, asks why, if Calixtus did everything he could in the Lateran frescoes and elsewhere to minimize or conceal his concessions to Henry, he would advertize them by painting his charter on the wall.²⁶ Herklotz argues trenchantly that what was written on the walls was in such a state of decay that Panvinus could not have been sure what was written there, and would have to have used another source for the charters. He adduces good reasons for concluding that the source was the thirteenth-century chronicle of Burchard of Biberach.²⁷

But one must go one step further and ask why Panvinus, a pious Augustinian antiquarian from Verona, would add the charter of Calixtus if it were not there? Even though he admitted that the letters were disappearing (*quamquam exolescens*), and he may have had to supplement them with an outside source, he could not have been mistaken about whether a whole charter—the *Calixtinum*—was painted on the walls. A

²⁵ *Septem Ecclesias*, pp. 175–176; *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 478: "privilegii porro Henrici V, Callixto II concessi, quod adhuc quamquam exolescens muro pictum cernitur exemplum sequens est:"

²⁶ See n. 30 for treatment of the Concordat in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

²⁷ "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 202 & n. 196; pp. 198–203 for Herklotz' argument.

possible explanation is that Calixtus depicted only Henry's concessions, as Panvinus stated, but that since Panvinus could not read them, he later copied them from another source. Quite probably it was the chronicle of Burchard of Biberach as Herklotz suggests. In the process of copying, either he or the scribe he employed copied the whole Concordat. The practice was not uncommon in the sixteenth century. But Panvinus' original observation would have been the more accurate—that the concessions of Henry to Calixtus were painted on the walls.

Boso describes the construction of the chapel and the adjoining rooms in the Lateran at the end of his biography of Calixtus as part of a summary of the pope's accomplishments. Pandulfus, however, directly associates the paintings with the capture of Burdinus. He relates that Cardinal John of Crema led an army, which captured the antipope at Sutri, and that Burdinus was then led back to Rome seated backward on a camel before being imprisoned in the monastery of La Cava.²⁸ He then goes on to recount another victory of Calixtus, this one over the counts of Ceccano in Southern Italy. By juxtaposing the construction and painting of the ceremonial rooms in the Lateran with the elaborate description of the capture and the subsequent humiliation of the antipope, Pandulfus emphasizes the triumphal aspect of the paintings; by adding the further victories of Calixtus over the counts of Ceccano, he stresses the pope's political success in the secular as well as in the ecclesiastical sphere.

Beyond what the attitudes of Pandulfus toward Calixtus indicate for the significance of the paintings in the audience room, they are important for understanding the political alliances within the papacy. Pandulfus was a prominent figure in his own right, and as a cardinal deacon he was one of Anaclet's most fervid advocates during the papal schism of 1130–1138. Since he wrote his biography of Calixtus after the start of the schism, his observations on Calixtus also serve as a commentary on the schism.

Recent scholarship sees Calixtus and Haimeric as the architects of the new ideology, which produced the reaction of the conservatives and led to the schism. According to this scholarship Calixtus had wanted to bring about a compromise with the emperor over investitures, but had been thwarted until 1122 by a party led by Petrus Pierleoni.²⁹ The theory

²⁸ *Lib. Pont.* 2., p. 323. Herklotz, *Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.*, p. 145 & n. 1; Klaus Schreiner, "Gregor VIII., nackt auf einem Esel. Entehrende Entblösung und schandbares Reiten im Spiegel einer Miniatur der 'Sächsischen Weltchronik,'" pp. 151–202 of *Ecclesia et Regnum: Beiträge zur Geschichte von Kirche, Recht, und Staat im Mittelalter*. Festschrift für Franz-Josef Schmale zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, ed. Dieter Berg und Hans-Werner Goetz, (Karlsruhe, 1989), and esp. pp. 165–166 for the frescoes; Ruth Mellinkoff, "Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil," *Viator* 4 (1973), 153–176, and esp. 155.

²⁹ Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory*, pp. 30–39; by the same author, "Ecclesiastical politics and the ending of the Investiture Contest: the papal election of 1119 and the negotiations of Mouzon," *Speculum* 46 (1971), 613–639.

concludes that in that year the pope was finally able to free himself from the Pierleoni power, and to put the French conciliatory principles into action in the Concordat of Worms. Pandulfus' favorable account of Calixtus belies this hypothesis, however, for had there been any rupture between the Burgundian (imperial, not French) pope and the Pierleoni, Pandulfus would have been more critical of his reign. His acerbic biography of Honorius II illustrates just how sharp his tongue could be when unleashed against a pope whom he despised.

Moreover, if Calixtus had long promoted such principles, why did he minimize or conceal his concessions? The only time he is known to have acknowledged them was during the Lateran Council of 1123. Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who was present, reported that when it was read that German bishops be permitted to be elected in the presence of the emperor, there was a huge outcry. To the chant of "*Non placet, non placet!*" Calixtus responded that for the sake of establishing peace, such conditions must be tolerated.³⁰

Even though the fresco, which would be painted in the chapel of St. Nicholas a few years later, would be far more grandiose than the series in the audience room, at least four important twelfth century writers referred to the latter, and as far as we know, none to the former.³¹ There are obvious reasons for this seeming anomaly. Anaclet painted the fresco in the apse of the chapel, and after his death, no one wanted to associate himself with an antipope by conveying the thoughts embedded therein. Even after Anaclet's authorship had been obliterated, there was little reason to refer to the fresco, since it had no immediate political implications. By contrast, the frescoes in the audience room illuminated the triumph of the reform papacy in its contest with the emperor, and their significance applied to future struggles between popes and emperors.

Around 1144 Suger, abbot of St. Denis, and chief counselor to Louis VI and Louis VII, referred to the paintings in the context of describing the fate of Burdinus. He said that they revealed the revenge of the pope, shown crushing Burdinus under his feet.³² As if the boil had thus been

³⁰ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de ordine Donorum Sancti Spiritus*, MGH LdL 3:279–280; Boso records only Henry's concessions. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 378. Pandulfus records neither, but implies that Henry made peace on Calixtus' terms: "Legati missi in scriptis pacem offerunt; et quemadmodum in Lateranensi palatio tabula privilegii repraesentat, pax ad velle pape ab imperatore simul et recepta est et perpetuo annuente Domino stabilita." Ibid., 322. The *Decretum* of Gratian does not mention the Concordat. Ed. Emile Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* 1 (Graz, 1959, repr of ed. Leipzig, 1879).

³¹ For a summation of references see Baluze, *Miscellaneorum* 3, pp.512–513.

³² Suger of St. Denis, *Vita Ludovici regis*, ed. Henri Waquet, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros* (Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age 11) (Paris, 1929), pp. 206–207: "... ad tante ultionis memorie conservationem, in camera palatii sub pedibus domini pape conculcatum depinxerunt." Herklotz, "Die Beratungssäume Calixtus' II.," p. 151 & n. 18.

lanced, Suger waxed enthusiastically over the brilliance of Calixtus' subsequent reign.³³

Arnulf of Lisieux (previously canon of Séz), one of Innocent's most fiery supporters and Anaclet's sharpest critics during the papal schism, saw the paintings when he was in Rome during Innocent's reign. In a letter written to Alexander III during Alexander's struggle with Victor IV, Arnulf consoled the pope by putting the present schism in perspective. He pointed out that the Lateran paintings showed that there had been many schisms in the past, and that in those cases the haughty and proud antipopes had been bruised and ground down to serve the popes as footstools. Arnulf said that he was hopeful that Alexander's cathedra would have its own even more noble footstool.³⁴

More than Arnulf, John of Salisbury emphasized the rekindling of the conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* at mid-century. Referring to Frederick Barbarossa's call for a council to judge between Alexander III and Victor IV, John asked who had constituted the Germans to be judges. Arguing for papal over imperial authority, he asserted that it was good that laymen be enabled to see the Lateran paintings so that they could observe what had happened to schismatics in the past.³⁵

Perhaps because as Frederick Barbarossa's uncle he was reluctant to refer to the humiliation of the imperial popes in the paintings, Otto, bishop of Freising, mentioned only the inscriptions. Recapitulating Alexander II's defeat of Cadolus, Otto stated that just as it was written in the Lateran palace, "Regnat Alexander, Kadolus cadit et superatur."³⁶ Later,

³³ Ibid.: "Domino itaque Calixto gloriose presidente et raptore Italiae et Apulie perdomante, pontificalis cathedra lucerna non sub modio sed superposita monti, clare elucebat beati Petri ecclesia, et relique urbis et extra, amissa recuperantes, tanti domini gratissimo fruebantur patrocinio."

³⁴ *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow (London, 1939), pp. 30–33; Letter 21, *Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. J. A. Giles, 1 (Oxford, 1849), pp. 109–110; PL 201:34–36 at p. 35; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 152 & n. 20; Walter, "Papal Political Imagery," pt. 1, n. 34, p. 162; Ladner, "I Mosaici," p. 270; for parts of Arnulf's *Invectiva in Girardum Engolismensem de schismate Petri Leonis* see Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, pp. 258–275; see also Henri Pellerin, "Saint Bernard et le pays lexovien: ses rapports avec Arnoul, évêque de Lisieux," *Revue de Le Pays D'Auge* (1965), 3–19, and esp. 18–19 for evidence of his visit to Rome.

³⁵ Letter to Randulf of Sarre, 1160, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*. I. *The Early Letters (1153–1161)*, ed. W. J. Millar & H. E. Butler, rev. C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1986), pp. 204–215 at pp. 207–208; PL 199:39; from Millar/Butler edition: "Sic ad gloriam patrum, teste Lateranense palatio, ubi hoc in visibilibus picturis et laici legunt, ad gloriam patrum scismatici quos secularis potestas intrusit dantur pontificibus pro scabello, et eorum memoriam reculant posteri pro triumpho." Herklotz, *Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.*, pp. 152–153 & n. 22; Walter and Ladner as in n. 34; John of Salisbury disliked Arnulf, and his comments about him are usually caustic.

³⁶ *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hanover, 1912), pp. 302–303; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 152 & n. 19. Note that Otto does not include the second line of the inscription so that Panvinus would have to have seen what remained of it from the wall or another source.

when Otto was discussing the Concordat of Worms, he noted that the Romans said that the papal concession was given to Henry alone for the sake of achieving peace. The result of this diplomacy, according to Otto, was that during Calixtus' reign, liberty and peace returned to the church. Whence, he recorded, it was written in Rome:

Ecce Calixtus honor patriae, decus imperiale,
Burdinum nequam dampnat, pacemque reformat.³⁷

These references show how widespread the impact of the paintings was. Their influence extended to the furthest reaches of Western Europe, and had lasting political consequences. One notable reverberation occurred in a meeting during the Fourth Lateran Council. In his dispute with the diocese of Braga Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo emphasized a point by referring to the frescoes. He said that if the delegates wanted to see what had happened to a previous archbishop of Braga—Burdinus—they had only to glance up at the walls.³⁸

Obviously, however, Calixtus' primary concern was the present, and he was confident that viewers would recognize the symbolic significance of the frescoes.³⁹ The use of the antipopes as *scabella* was an ancient form of humiliation going back to the pharaohs, but more pertinently for Calixtus, it had numerous biblical and imperial precedents.⁴⁰ Reform popes had advocated that evil beings be crushed, and after Calixtus, Innocent II and Lothar III would each suggest that the other tread Anaclet

³⁷ Ibid., 330–331;

³⁸ Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum* 22, pp. 1071–1075; Baluze (as in n. 31 above, pp. 511–512) calls attention to the incident. Ciro Nispi-Landi refers to this same incident, and notes how hostile Rodrigo was to Burdinus. *Storia dell'Antichissima Città di Sutri* (Rome, 1887), pp. 384–385. Like Baluze, Nispi-Landi portrays Burdinus sympathetically. Walter, "Papal Political Imagery," pt. I, pp. 162–163. Hélène Toubert also briefly mentions the paintings; "Renouveau paléochrétien," p. 154; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 153, 166 & n. 24 for further sources.

³⁹ Panvinus transmits the common understanding of the significance of the paintings in the sixteenth century. *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 478: "Quibus figuris ostendebat Romanam Ecclesiam sub Alexandro II excutere coepisse Imperatorum iugum qui eam oppressam tenebant, et sub se Pontifice id omnino perfectum esse, ut non solum ecclesia Romana sed omnis Christiana Ecclesia in libertatem vindicata esset, quando, pace cum imperatore Henrico V facta, . . ."

⁴⁰ E.g. Ps. 110.1: "Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum," repeated in Matt. 22.44. For the crushing motif see Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 174–188. In the twelfth century the front hoof of the famous statue of Marcus Aurelius, widely thought to have been Constantine until the reign of Innocent II, was poised over a victim, which later disappeared. In this period the statue stood in the *campus* in front of the Lateran palace. See n. 16, ch. 13, and for further references Klaus Schreiner, "Vom geschichtlichen Ereignis zum historischen Exempel. Eine denkwürdige Begegnung zwischen Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa und Papst Alexander III. in Venedig 1177 und ihre Folgen in Geschichtsschreibung, Literatur und Kunst," pp. 150–160 of *Mittelalter-Rezeption. Ein Symposium*, ed. P. Wapnewski (Stuttgart, 1984); Walter, "Papal political imagery," pt. 2, p. 111; for imperial references, *ibid.*, 109–117.

under his feet.⁴¹ Quite probably Calixtus himself had created a dramatic scene by employing the liturgical symbolism of crushing, not people, but candles. Usually when the sentence of anathema was pronounced each of twelve priests dashed a burning candle to the ground, and crushed it under his feet.⁴² When Burdinus and Henry V were excommunicated in the Council of Rheims in 1119, Calixtus had all 427 delegates light candles. Although the report does not specifically state that they all hurled their candles to the ground and stamped upon them, in all likelihood they followed liturgical practice.⁴³

The crushing motif was frequently illustrated, and a miniature, which could have served as a model for Calixtus was a drawing in which St. Vincent of Vulturno triumphed over his persecutor, Dacian. In the Chronicle of Vulturno, compiled under Gelasius II, Dacian is portrayed in chains, squashed under the feet of St. Vincent (plate 14). Calixtus or the painter of the frescoes might well have seen the Chronicle, and have been inspired by its remarkable miniatures.⁴⁴ However, the St. Vincent/Dacian theme was not unique, and there were many other examples Calixtus might have copied.⁴⁵

Just as his brilliant entry into Rome masked his actual fragile position, so also the degradation of the imperial popes and the exaltation of his own image glossed over sharp opposition to the Concordat of Worms. In all probability, part of the iconography of the paintings was calculated to deflect that opposition. Although many church leaders agreed with Calixtus that peace warranted his concessions to Henry, others felt that the sacrifices were too great.⁴⁶ Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz, the leading papal advocate in Germany, and a key negotiator of the Concordat, argued

⁴¹ Paschal II in a letter to the clergy and other Christians of France, November 26, 1105, PL 163:179; Innocent II to Lothar III, April 24, 1136, Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, p. 218: "... quod Deus regnum vestrum exaltat et rebellantium colla sub iuga vestrae dilectionis et sub pedibus vestris humiliat . . ." In a letter to Innocent Lothar suggested that God himself perform the act. Ibid., 219: "[Omnipotens Deus] . . . idolum Moloch, [Anaclet] in templo Dei erectum, sub pedibus per vos potenter conculcabit . . ." Perhaps Innocent and Lothar were inspired by the frescoes of Calixtus.

⁴² Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 188.

⁴³ Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, p. 137: "Allatae sunt denique candelae 427 e accensae datae singulae singulis, tenentibus baculos episcopis et abbatibus iniunctumque est eis, ut omnes candela tenentes assurgerent. Cumque astarent, recitata sunt multorum nomina, quos precipue excommunicare proposuerat domnus Papa, inter quos primi nominati sunt rex Heiricus et Romanae ecclesiae invasor Burdinus . . ." The reporter is Hesso Scholasticus.

⁴⁴ *Chronicon Vulturnense* Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 10r; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 203 & n. 199; Carlo Cecchelli, *La Vita di Roma nel Medio Evo 1 Le Arti Minori e il Costume* (Rome, 1951-1952), p. 565.

⁴⁵ E. g., possibly from the *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*. See n. 50, ch. 1.

⁴⁶ Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968), p. 304 & n. 8.

that allowing German bishops to be elected in the presence of the emperor would simply perpetuate the practice of imperial selection.⁴⁷ It may even have been he who organized the uprising in the Lateran Council of 1123 when the speaker read that part of the Concordat in which Calixtus conceded that German prelates be elected in the presence of the emperor.⁴⁸ Gerhoh also voiced his own misgivings. He stated that it greatly disturbed him that the clause, "*et que ex his iure tibi debet, faciat*," was interpreted to mean that for the first time the emperor could require German bishops to perform homage.⁴⁹ The concession implied that German bishops would become imperial vassals.

Reacting to this criticism, Calixtus chose a spot calculated to offer prime visibility to ecclesiastical and lay figures for portraying the compromise at Worms as a victory.⁵⁰ By juxtaposing the unequivocal triumph of the popes over the antipopes with the negotiated settlement with the emperor, Calixtus insinuated that both were victories. The last of the four paintings seals this tendentious conception of the Concordat. Calixtus pointedly chose the image where he was enthroned and the emperor was standing to emphasize the majesty and authority of the papacy. Had he wished instead to accentuate papal spirituality or religiosity, he could have selected an image reversing these positions, such as the painting in the porticus of St. Peter's basilica. One of the frescoes in a series on Constantine portrayed the crowned emperor seated on a raised throne. Sylvester, his bare head englobed by a halo, and tipped downward in humility, was standing. He was wearing simple garments and a pallium.

⁴⁷ Philip Jaffé, ed., *Monumenta Bambergensia*, vol. 5 of *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (Berlin, 1869), p. 519; Stroll, "Calixtus II," pp. 49–50.

⁴⁸ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de ordine donorum S. Spiritus*, MGH LdL 3:280. See n. 30 above.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 279; Stroll, "Calixtus II," p. 50 & n. 152 for other sources mentioning the interpretation of this clause in the *Calixtinum*.

⁵⁰ Ingo Herklotz believes that Calixtus was using the theme of the triumph of the reform papacy to make a far more revolutionary claim. He compares the last fresco with the donation frescoes in the Chronicle of Vulturno, and contends that Calixtus was assuming the roll of the saint, and Henry that of the donor. Herklotz calls attention to the fresco of Gisulf II, which shows the king, knees bent, holding an unrolled document with the enthroned St. Vincent. Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 58v (plate 15); Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," 204–205 and illustration 28. I am skeptical that Calixtus is making such a claim, however. In the Lateran fresco Henry is on the other side of Calixtus, and is standing erectly. In the Vulturno frescoes the most exalted figure is always enthroned in a similar configuration, but he is not necessarily a saint. Paschal, for example, is portrayed in that position, but there is no implication that he is a saint. Moreover, in roughly contemporaneous manuscripts the emperor was not always so portrayed. In the miniatures of the chronicon of S. Sophia of Benevento, for example, the emperor making the donation is enthroned, and the abbot stands. It would follow from Herklotz' analysis that because Calixtus is the only pope in the Lateran frescoes to be depicted in a donor motif, only he would be sainted. More probably the viewer would have distinguished Calixtus from his predecessors not as the only saint, but as the pope who had forced the emperor to make peace with the church. See ns. 19 & 20 above.

In the portrait of Sts. Peter and Paul, which he was showing to Constantine, the two founders of the church were depicted similarly, except that their heads were not bent (plate 16).⁵¹ In the Lateran frescoes Calixtus emulated the imperial portrayal of Constantine rather than the symbol of spirituality and humility represented by Sts. Peter and Paul, and by Sylvester.

Although the joint holding of the scroll indicates that Calixtus and Henry each lent his authority to the Concordat—or at least to Henry's charter—nevertheless the emperor is portrayed in a distinctly inferior position.⁵² He is placed at the side of the fresco with only one retainer, while the majestically enthroned Calixtus, surrounded by a large entourage holds center stage.⁵³ In the sketch there is a small drawing of his tiara, as though the one who drew it wanted to be sure to emphasize the distinction between it and the mitres of his clerical attendants.⁵⁴ Not only were only Henry's concessions displayed on the scroll, but also his pope was groveling under Calixtus' feet. Henry had no counterpart to Burdinus, no symbol of papal defeat to balance his own. The conclusion

⁵¹ Grimaldi, *Album*, (1609) Archivio S. Pietro, Biblioteca Vaticana, A 64 ter, fol. 40r: "B. Silvester ostendit imagines Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Constantino Imp. ex porticu veteris Vaticanae Basilicae." In the drawing on fol. 46 Constantine, crowned, and lying in bed, is dreaming of Sts. Peter and Paul. Calixtus could also have followed the examples in the Chronicon of S. Sophia of Benevento where the abbot, standing, receives the diploma from the king or emperor, sitting. Muñoz, *Le Miniature*, p. 88.

⁵² For an illustration showing equality see the miniature of Paschal and Henry V from the chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura, dedicated to Henry V (plate 17). Paschal is passing the globe to Henry, allegedly in the coronation ceremony of April 1111. Both stand on the same level, both wear low head coverings, probably a camelaucum mitre in Paschal's case, and both are shaven. Henry holds a scepter, and Paschal a staff. It is clear that Paschal is passing the globe to Henry because his hand is on the side of the globe, and Henry's is underneath. Also Henry's head is slightly bent in the customary form for a receiver. Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon* MGH SS 6:1-267; See n. 23, ch. 5 for a discussion of the author of the MS. attributed to Ekkehard. Percy Ernst Schramm & Florentine Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrscher Geschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768-1250* (Munich, 1962), pp. 178, 403; Ladner, *Papstbilnisse* 1, p. 244; James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 2, pt. 2, pp. 215-218; Christopher Walter emphasizes the contractual nature of the setting; "Papal Political Imagery," pt. 2, p. 119.

⁵³ Percy Ernst Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751-1190*, new ed. Florentine Mutherich (Munich, 1983), p. 119 & tav. 187.

⁵⁴ The conscious progression between the portrayal of the pope as wearing the ecclesiastical mitre and the ruling tiara can be observed in the *Chronicon Vulturnense*. In the earlier parts of the codex the pope wears a mitre similar to those of his attendants; e.g. Paschal II, Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 102r. By fol. 203r the pope wears a tiara distinctively different from that of his attendants or of the abbot (plate 18). In between the pope's head dress is indistinct. On fol. 178, for example, the abbot and bishops wear mitres of two crowns, whereas Pope Marinus II wears a head dress of only one crown, which could be a tiara. See Bernard Sirch, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Mitra und päpstlichen Tiara*, vol. 8 of *Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien*, (St. Ottilien, 1975), esp. pp. 119-120.

suggested is that Calixtus' victory over the antipope led to his victory over the emperor as well.⁵⁵

There may also have been a deeper message encoded in the painting. In the second half of the twelfth century magnificent mosaics depicting scenes from the history of the early church were cemented into the porticus of the Lateran basilica. Most probably dating to the reign of Alexander III (1159–81), the mosaics portrayed Christ in Limbo, scenes from the lives of John the Baptist and John the apostle, both associated with the Lateran, and three episodes from the legends of Sylvester. The third portrays Constantine in the act of presenting his donation to Sylvester. It is accompanied by the inscription, *Rex in scriptura Sylvestro dat sua jura* (plate 19).⁵⁶ Minus the *scabellum*, the configuration of pope and emperor is almost the same as the scene of Calixtus and Henry in the palace frescoes. The pope is sitting on his throne, the emperor is standing, and they are jointly holding the Donation of Constantine. Although the fresco in the Lateran palace was painted earlier, the later use of the same iconography suggests that in both cases the concessions were seen as onesided—that the emperor was granting something to the pope.⁵⁷

There is even a hint that Calixtus chose to portray the Concordat of Worms as a kind of renewal of the Donation of Constantine, in which amongst other prerogatives, the papacy received imperial authority in the West. The garments of the popes in the Lateran frescoes were contemporary, and conformed to the descriptions of twelfth-century liturgical tracts.⁵⁸ Henry's clothes, by contrast, were not those of a twelfth-century emperor, but military garments of the Roman emperors.⁵⁹ There were

⁵⁵ Pandulfus emphasizes that the peace was at the will of the pope; *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 322: "... quemadmodum in Lateranensi Palatio tabula privilegii repraesentat, pax ad velle papae ab imperatore . . . stabilita."

⁵⁶ The Barbarini drawings are in a collection of Miscellanea in the Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. 4423, fols. 14–19; fol. 14r for the scene of the Donation of Constantine. G. Ciampini, *De Sacris aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis. Synopsis historica* (Rome, 1693), pp. 10–13; see also idem, *Vetera monumenta, in quibus praecipue musiva opera sacrarum profanarumque aedium structura, ac nonnulli antiqui ritus, dissertationibus, iconibusque illustrantur* (Rome, 1690–99). Panvinus also refers to the mosaics, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 181; Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran*, pp. 181–184 for reproductions of the Ciampini & Barbarini drawings; A. L. Frothingham, "Notes on Christian Mosaics: III. The Portico of the Lateran Basilica," *American Journal of Archeology* 2 (1886), 414–423; Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," p. 52.

⁵⁷ In his analysis of the donor motif Herklotz says that the donor, Constantine, would not have been seen by a twelfth-century observer as a benefactor, but as anyone, who was pleading his own case before God and his saints. From this reasoning Herklotz concludes that the donation scene portrayed the subordination of secular to spiritual power. He argues that the fresco of Calixtus and Henry should be interpreted in the same way. "Der Fassadenportikus," pp. 62–65 & n. 109.

⁵⁸ Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," p. 193.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 191–193.

numerous examples in Rome, which the artist could have copied. The dress of the soldiers in the murals in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, for example, strikingly resembles that of Henry in the Lateran frescoes.⁶⁰ Since the two sets of frescoes were created under the direction of Calixtus about the same time, the same artist could even have painted both of them.

The dress of Constantine in the porticus mosaic resembles that of Henry in the frescoes. Like Henry, Constantine also wears a short tunic, and a cape clasped with a fibula. The similarity between the iconography of this mosaic and the fresco of Calixtus and Henry is striking. There is only one image, which could have served as the prototype for depicting Henry in the guise of a Roman emperor jointly holding a scroll with the pope—Constantine and Sylvester. Indeed, Calixtus may have spearheaded the movement in the twelfth century to utilize the Donation of Constantine as support for papal claims of imperial authority. He was the first of the reform popes, who could realistically challenge the emperor, and it was approximately from the time of his reign that narrative and legal sources frequently cited the Donation to justify papal encroachments in the secular domain.⁶¹

The mosaics created under Alexander III are not the only ones reported to have graced the porticus. Panvinus writes that exploits of Calixtus along with deeds of Sylvester, St. Peter, and St. Paul were immortalized in mosaics on the zophorus of the basilica.⁶² In all likelihood

⁶⁰ See the sketches of the murals in Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Giovenale, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, and reproduced in Short, "Le pape Calixte II, Charlemagne, et les fresques de Santa Maria in Cosmedin," *passim*.

⁶¹ The earliest version of the *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, written between 1073 and 1118, contains the Donation. It is edited in an appendix under the title, *Anonymi Descriptio Basilicae Lateranensis* by Domenico Giorgi, *De liturgia romani pontificis in solemnibus celebratione missarum*, vol. 3 *Liber Quartus: Ubi Sacra mysteria ex antiquis codicibus, praesertim Vaticanis, aliisque monumentis plurimum illustrantur* (Rome, 1744 repr. Farnborough, 1970), pp. 542–55 at pp. 544–545. The Giorgi ed. is based upon Reg. lat. 712 in the Biblioteca Vaticana. The version of Johannes Diaconus dating from the reign of Alexander III is edited in Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 318–373, pp. 330–332, 362–368 for the Donation. For the dissemination of the Concordat of Worms in the twelfth century see G. Laehr, *Die Konstantinische Schenkung in der abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1926, repr. 1965); D. Maffei, *La Donazione di Costantino nei giuristi medievali* (Milan, 1964); Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* 2 (Stuttgart, 1973); J. Petersmann, "Die kanonistische Ueberlieferung des Constitutum Constantini bis zum Dekret Gratians," *Deutsches archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 30 (1974), 356–449; Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," pp. 81–82.

⁶² *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 434: "Zophorus vero totus tessellatus est, et SS. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, Silvestri, Callixti II et similium rebus gestis e musivo expressis ornatus est; in peristylis fascia scripti sunt versus quos supra retuli: Dogmate papali datur ac simul imperialii . . ." Panvinus wrote in 1562, and his assertion was confirmed by at least two sources in the seventeenth century. Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," pp. 83 & ns. 212–213, 87 & n. 233. Francesco Gandolfo suspects that Panvinus may have been confusing the

Calixtus himself commissioned the mosaics and set the theme. Panvinus does not describe the deeds depicted, but since Calixtus' most notable accomplishments were his capture of Burdinus and the signing of the Concordat of Worms, they would have been the most probable subjects. Thus, it is quite possible that a mosaic similar to the fresco in the *sala pro secretis consiliis* and the later mosaic of the Donation of Constantine shimmered from the zophorus.

What may be even more important than the scenes depicted is the fact that Calixtus associated himself with the founders of the church and with the pope to whom Constantine allegedly granted imperial authority in the West. In the Lateran's competition with St. Peter's in the twelfth century it was critical for its prestige that it have an apostolic as well as an imperial tradition. The mosaics of Peter, Paul, Sylvester and Calixtus were part of a campaign, which also emphasized that the heads of Sts. Peter and Paul were housed in the basilica. But in the process of stressing this apostolic tradition, Calixtus placed himself on a continuum with the leading figures of the church. First the apostles Peter and Paul established the church; then Sylvester gained imperial authority in the West; and then Calixtus renewed that covenant after intervening popes had failed to maintain it.

In the symbolically rich paintings in the *sala pro secretis consiliis* Calixtus not only assumed a position of superiority over the emperor, but he also stood out from his predecessors. Whereas they had only vanquished their rivals, he had forced the emperor to make concessions in order to achieve peace. The portrayal of his throne and his inscriptions make this distinction explicit. The thrones of his predecessors are simple seats with neither backs nor arm rests. The throne of Calixtus has both a high back and arm rests decorated with knobs. The inscriptions echo verbally what is revealed graphically. With the exception of Paschal, who is styled *decus ecclesiae*—glory of the church—none of the other popes is described. But when referring to himself Calixtus exults, "Behold, Calixtus, honor of the fatherland, imperial glory, condemned the wicked Burdinus, and brought back peace." "Decus imperii" was an old honorific title of the emperor, and "honor patriae" also originated in the imperial realm.⁶³ The descriptions reinforce the transposition of Calixtus into Sylvester. Rather than the image of humility, which Anaclet would project in the apse painting of the neighboring chapel of St. Nicholas, Calixtus boldly broadcast his imperial stature.

mosaics with the frescoes in the *camera pro secretis consiliis*, but his argument is not convincing. "Assisi e il Laterano," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 106 (1983), 63–113, at p. 79 & n. 40.

⁶³ Schramm/Mütherich, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, p. 252; see also tav. 187.

In his parting message to the Christian world Calixtus chose to identify himself with Constantine and Sylvester by burial in the Lateran basilica, rather than with St. Peter by interment in St. Peter's own basilica. His choice was a matter of emphasis rather than exclusion, for Calixtus had not neglected St. Peter's, and he had pointedly associated himself with Peter and Paul in the mosaics in the zophorus. But forced to decide for one or the other, he opted for the imperial rather than the apostolic tradition. The symbolism is conveyed by the common name of the Lateran in the twelfth century. It was the basilica of the lord Savior, and likewise of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, but it was called the Constantiniana.⁶⁴

The earliest of several existing versions of the *Descriptio lateranensis ecclesiae* had already etched the basic significance of the "Constantiniana" in churchmen's minds.⁶⁵ Written between 1073 and 1118 as one of the best witnesses for the papal *imitatio imperii*, it was entitled, "Descriptio Sanctuarii Sanctae Lateranensis Ecclesiae." Its main theme was the primacy of the basilica and its relics. Since several manuscripts circulated in the twelfth century, Calixtus would certainly have been aware of its contents. It referred to the basilica as "Patriarchalis et imperialis" and as "sacerdotalis et regia", and to its liturgy as written for the "imperialis episcopus".⁶⁶ A later source emphasized that the papal thrones before the porticus and the chapel of Sylvester were not *patriarchales*, but *imperiales*.⁶⁷ The descriptions are in keeping with the epithets characterizing Calixtus in the inscription under his fresco in the palace—*honor patriae, decus imperiale*.

At the end of the reign of this imperial pope Pandulfus declared that it almost seemed as though the *pax Augustana* had returned.⁶⁸ It was not fortuitous that Pandulfus compared Calixtus with the first Roman emperor, the ruler who had restored order out of chaos, for Calixtus had

⁶⁴ *Basilica Salvatoris domini, que Constantiniana vocatur, pariterque beati Iohannis baptiste et Iohanni evangeliste*, the title which appears in a bull of Anastasius IV, Dec., 1153; J. von Pflugk-Hartung, *Acta pontificum romanorum inedita. Urkunden der Päpste 97–1197* 3 (Graz, 1958), p. 133; Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 463, in reference to the election of Paschal II: "ad basilicam Salvatoris, quam Constantinianam dicunt . . ." Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," p. 72 & n. 139.

⁶⁵ Giorgi, *De liturgia*, pp. 542–555; Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Ecclesiae, Codice Topografico* 3, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, pp. 318–373; see n. 61 above; Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," pp. 71 & n. 132, 81–82; Cyrill Vogel, "La Descriptio Ecclesiae Lateranensis du Diacre Jean: Histoire du text manuscrit," *Mélanges en l'honneur du Monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg, 1965), pp. 457–476.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 542, 547, 549; Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 328, 336, 345.

⁶⁷ The Basel *Ordo* of the late twelfth century; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes in 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum Pontificiae* 6 (1968), 43–70 at p. 62, n. 26.

⁶⁸ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 323.

pointedly cultivated this parallel. But Pandulfus was writing during the early reign of Anaclet, well after the death of Calixtus, and the irregularity and violence of the next two papal elections. He knew that the peace he extolled papered over underlying forces of dissension ready to break out at the first opportunity. But the success Calixtus achieved in his long confrontation with Henry was lasting, and would lead to the papal monarchy at the end of the century.

Chapter 3

CALIXTUS TRIUMPHANT: ST. CHRYSOGONUS AND ST. PETER'S

The Lateran frescoes did not stand alone as testimonials to the victory of Calixtus over Henry and his pope. Calixtus also provided the means for John of Crema, cardinal priest of St. Chrysogonus, to rebuild his basilica in Trastevere as a memorial to the defeat of Burdinus.¹ St. Chrysogonus conveyed in architectural form what the Lateran frescoes portrayed in pictorial form. The rebuilding of St. Chrysogonus was part of a revival of Trastevere, the one time swampy area where eastern immigrants had settled until they could move across the river. Up the Via Aurelia from John of Crema's titular church stood Santa Maria in Trastevere, the church to which Calixtus appointed Petrus Pierleoni as cardinal priest. This signal papal favor enabled Petrus to participate in the ferment pullulating in Trastevere. Innocent would later add yeast to the ferment by rebuilding Santa Maria, and putting his own stamp upon it.

But as imposing as John of Crema's magnificently rebuilt basilica was, it could not have the same impact as the Lateran and St. Peter's. They were the only two basilicas associated both with the papacy and the empire, and symbolic messages transmitted from their sanctuaries resonated throughout the Christian world. Although Calixtus was ultimately to identify himself with the "Constantiniana", he created the greatest monument to his reign in St. Peter's. There, in one dramatic gesture, he identified himself both with Sylvester I and with St. Peter himself.

A. ST. CHRYSOGONUS

John of Crema led the army which captured Burdinus at Sutri.² Martial prowess was only one of the versatile cardinal's many talents. He had been present at the election of Calixtus at Cluny, and from that time the Burgundian pope had selected him for many important diplomatic and military assignments. As a sign of the pope's confidence, during his reign

¹ Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 1, pp. 144-164.

² Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp. 176-178.

John's signature was affixed to more papal documents than that of any other cardinal.

Yet, John had a mixed reputation, and because of accusations of moral turpitude, Honorius felt constrained to relieve him of his cardinalate dignity. Honorius would later reinstate him, but some cardinals were not convinced that he was worthy of regaining his office. The scandal surrounding John is revealed in a fascinating Spanish manuscript found by J. M. March in the second decade of the twentieth century.³ This manuscript contains some of the papal biographies written by Pandulfus, which Peter William, a supporter of Innocent, would later alter and transcribe into the *Liber Pontificalis*. Since John was one of Innocent's most loyal adherents, and had played a major role in the intrigue culminating in his election, Innocent did not want the revelations of John's fall from grace to be publicized. Peter William's sanitized version of the biography leaves John's reputation intact. Nevertheless, from the unexpurgated writings of Pandulfus we know that the man who constructed one of the most grandiose tributes to the success of Calixtus' imperial policies was a man of dubious character.

But moral blemishes did not concern Calixtus when he needed a commander of proven ability to capture Burdinus. Recruiting an army swelled by Normans, Calixtus asked John to rid the church of the nettle, which could still rally dissident elements against the papacy. The cardinal priest carried out his assignment with exemplary skill. On April 17, 1121, he defeated Burdinus, and allowed the militia to subject the fallen pope to such violent abuse that his life was endangered.⁴ Knowing that Burdinus was more valuable alive as an object of mockery, however, Calixtus snatched his victim from his captors to display in a processional triumph. His exemplar was probably John XVI, who in 998 was the last pope before Burdinus to suffer a similar fate.⁵ Perhaps the cruel custom had run its course, for no other pope in the twelfth century is known to have been treated similarly.⁶

Bound, and dressed in an inverted goat's skin—reputedly with horns, and bloody in mock imitation of the royal purple—Burdinus was seated backwards on the camel used to carry the pope's cooking utensils. Using the beast's tail as reins, the horned monster painfully made his way to

³ J. M. March, *Liber Pontificalis prout exstat in codice manuscripto Dertusensi* (Barcelona, 1925), hereafter cited as *Lib. Pont. Dert.*, p. 208: "Hic Iohannem Cremensem, hominem litteratum et prouidum, sed turpis fame magis quam opus sit, suspendit a cardinalatus officio; sed ipse scit et Deus qualiter eum postea restituerit."

⁴ JL 6902; PL 163:1205.

⁵ *Lib. Pont.* 2, n. 5, p. 262.

⁶ Schreiner, "Gregor VIII., nackt auf einem Esel," pp. 173–174.

Rome amidst the jeers and missiles of filth tossed by the mobs lining the way. Dressed in his pontifical garments, and imitating the ancient imperial triumphs, Calixtus rode in great pomp as the victor. The procession wended its way along the Cassia, but moved to the Flaminia at the Ponte Emilio in order to enter Rome through the principle road from the North, the road on which Augustus had triumphantly entered Rome in 13 B.C..⁷ Hordes of people crowded into the piazzas and lined the imperial way adorned with triumphal arches to see the spectacle.⁸

On April 27 while still in Sutri, Calixtus had written a jubilant letter to the clergy of Gaul, describing the capture of the "Theutonicorum Regis idolum". "Idol" had exactly the right overtones, for men in antiquity had used the term to designate an image or a substitute. It was a more emotive way of saying that Burdinus was only an image, an idol like the golden calf worshipped by the Israelites. The term was so apt, that it found common currency. Anaclet's supporters would use it to describe Innocent II; Alexander III would apply it to Victor IV, and St. Bernard to William, archbishop of York.⁹

Exactly a year after the capture of "the idol of the king (not "emperor") of the Germans", Calixtus commemorated the feat by issuing a bull reaffirming John's rights over his title and possessions. The date of the bull, April 17, 1122, could not have been fortuitous. The reaffirmation of

⁷ Philippe Verdier, "La Naissance à Rome de la Vision de l'Ara Coeli: Un Aspect de l'utopie de la Paix Perpétuelle à travers un thème Iconographique," *Mélanges de L'école Française de Rome: Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 94 (1982), 85–119, at p. 85.

⁸ *Lib. Pont.* 2, pp. 347–348, *Annales Romani*; *ibid.*, 323, Pandulfus; *ibid.*, 377 where Boso conflates the procession with Calixtus' first triumphal entry into Rome after his election; *De Eginone et Herimanno*, MGH SS 12:446; Ekkehard, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 6:250–256; Annalista Saxo, MGH SS 6:756; Falco of Benevento, PL 173:1183; William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. William Stubbs, vol. 2 (London, 1889), p. 507 for a sympathetic account: "quem [Burdinum] multum quislibet revereri, et pene adorare, pro viva magnae industriae specie debuisset, nisi tam famoso facinore enitescere maluisset." Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 206–207, who emphasizes contrasts: light/darkness, good/evil, Christ/antichrist; Baluze, "Vita Mauricii Burdini," *Miscellaneorum* 3, pp. 510–511; Baluze has amassed a prodigious array of sources, which include the role played by Calixtus, and the Byzantine antecedents of such a triumph. E. g., "Ergo turpissime ultra quam credi potest afflictus, ut ait Falco Beneventanus, ligatus et indutus pilosa pelle vervecis pro chlamyde rubea, ut est in veteri codice Vaticano apud Baronium, immo sanguinolentis pellibus caprinis amictus . . . Callistum Papam ad urbem antecessit ex more veterum triumphorum, per medium civitatis via regia, ut magis publicaretur, deductus. . . . Narrat enim Anastasius in historia ecclesiastica, ex Theophane, ut appareret Constantinum falsum Patriarcham Constantinopolitanum a Constantino Copronymo Imperatore dejectum & deonestatum publice fuisse impositum oblique super asinum sagmam tenentem & ipsius tenere cauda iussum esse." Nispi-Landi, *Storia dell'Antichissima Città di Sutri*, pp. 386–388; Schreiner, "Greogr VIII., nackt auf einem Esel," pp. 161–166; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 119; see also n. 28, ch. 2.

⁹ The letter is reprinted in Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, p. 142; *ibid.*, 189 for the letter of Pandulfus to Diego of Compostella describing Innocent as a "plasmatum idolum"; Baluze, *op. cit.*, pp. 508–509; Nispi-Landi, *Storia dell'Antichissima Città di Sutri*, pp. 386–387.

John's rights on that particular day was intended to create the conditions for the victor at Sutri to rebuild St. Chrysogonus as a memorial of the defeat of the imperial pope.¹⁰ Just as in the depiction of Burdinus as a *scabellum* in the Lateran painting, so also the commemoration of his capture was calculated to convey that Henry had been dealt such a decisive blow that he was forced to capitulate—to make concessions to Calixtus to bring about peace with the church. The signing of the Concordat of Worms in September was the inevitable outcome of Sutri.

While the old basilica was being torn down, and a new one built, John constructed an oratory to service his congregation. Dated in the first indiction of July, 1123, its dedicatory inscription reveals what a distinguished gathering had assembled for the ceremony. Even though it was only an oratory which was being dedicated, this was no ordinary occasion. The most eminent among the cardinals present was Cardinal Bishop Peter of Porto, in whose jurisdiction (Trastevere) St. Chrysogonus lay. Others, who in seven years would be implacable rivals for the papacy, were Gregory of St. Angelo and Petrus Pierleoni, at that time cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere with the title of St. Calixtus. Peter of Porto would be one of Petrus' most eloquent defenders, and John of Crema one of his most deadly foes. The presence of all of these future opponents on this occasion suggests that they all approved of Calixtus' imperial policies. And the presence of Petrus Pierleoni less than a year after the signing of the Concordat of Worms is compelling evidence that he did not lead the faction, which raised an outcry at the Lateran Council of 1123 when the concessions of Calixtus were being read.¹¹ It is further proof that the papal schism of 1130 did not arise over the acceptance or rejection of the Concordat of Worms. It is also evidence that the factions of 1130 had not coalesced by July, 1123.

In 1127, four years after the dedication of the oratory, the construction of the basilica was far enough advanced for its major altar to be consecrated. Peter of Porto again officiated at the ceremony, thereby further binding his name with the architectural symbol of Calixtus'

¹⁰ As argued convincingly by Duchesne; *Lib. Pont.* 2, n. 23, p. 326; Maurice Mesnard agrees. *La Basilique de Saint Chrysogone a Rome* (Vatican City, Rome, Paris, 1935), p. 125; Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica* 1, pars I, Tab. XXIV, #1; Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 2, #486, p. 169.

¹¹ As maintained by Schmale and Chodorow. The latter states on p. 30 of *Christian Political Theory*: "During the reading of the Concordat at the First Lateran Council of 1123, the Pierleoni group caused such a commotion against the agreement that the whole council nearly broke up over the issue. Pope Calixtus II and members of the Curia who were in favor of the compromise began from that point on to seek to counter the power of the Pierleoni. The party dispute had begun." See also Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma*, p. 24; Mesnard reproduces the dedication in a photograph and transcribes it; *La Basilique*, pp. 126–128; Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 601.

triumph over the emperor.¹² By 1130, still in the reign of Honorius II, John completed the construction. Another inscription records the fruition of his monumental enterprise.¹³ Its gigantic pillars advertise its imperial linkage. The first use of the architrave since it had come back into favor in 1090 in Santa Maria in Capella (Santa Maria ad Pineam), also identified the church with the architecture of the Caesars.¹⁴

If the legend is true, Calixtus granted John one further reward as a sign of his gratitude. After elevating the church of Santiago de Compostella to an archbishopric, Calixtus is said to have urged its archbishop, Diego, to do something for the Roman church in return. He may have had in mind a handsome "benediction", which Diego was accustomed to granting for papal privileges, but this time Diego is alleged to have responded by sending an arm of St. James, the apostle. Calixtus, in turn, is said to have bequeathed the relic to John to place in his new basilica.¹⁵

B. ST. PETER'S

Just to the north of Trastevere lay the Leonine city centered around St. Peter's (plate 20).¹⁶ Nowhere other than the basilica of the founder of the church could Calixtus have proclaimed his position on papal authority so dramatically, nor commemorated his own reign so eternally. With one stroke he both venerated and identified with St. Peter. Rousing the same vigor and sense of purpose he had summoned at the Lateran, he undertook the task of restoring and embellishing the apostolic basilica. He adorned it with wall hangings, and among other gifts, he donated bells, flooring, altars and their coverings.¹⁷

But it was the major altar, which received his special attention. This was the most sacred altar in all of Western Christendom—the one over the *confessio* of St. Peter where the pope was consecrated, and where traditionally the emperor was crowned. When emperors, kings and

¹² Mesnard, *La Basilique*, pp. 130–131 for a photograph and transcription of the commemoration; Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica*, Tab. XXIV #3. It is interesting that Honorius himself did not consecrate the altar, as he did, for example, at San Nicola in Carcere.

¹³ Ibid., 132; Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica*, Tab. XXIV #5; Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, 2, p. 169, #487.

¹⁴ Emile Mâle, *Rome et ses vieilles églises* (Paris, 1941), pp. 196–197. Mâle notes that church architecture was changing in France and all of Italy except Rome, which remained attached to its past. He asserts that in St. Chrysogonus columns had to be borrowed from an antique edifice in order to hold the architrave. He observes that Santa Maria in Trastevere would also renounce the arcade in favor of the architrave.

¹⁵ Mesnard, *La Basilique*, p. 141; The evidence is circumstantial, but Mesnard's arguments are impressive; Robert, *Histoire de Pape Calixte II*, p. 102.

¹⁶ Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 5, pp. 171–285.

¹⁷ Pandulfus, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 323. *Lib. Pont. Dert.*, p. 195: "Cortinas multas et pallia, candelabra de argento, campanas et pavimenta, fundos atque casalia beato Petro donavit . . ." See also the description of Peter Mallius in n. 20 below.

queens arrived in Rome, imitating Constantine, they made a pilgrimage to the *confessio* to venerate St. Peter.¹⁸ The altar had been consecrated by Sylvester when Constantine built the basilica, and although it was rebuilt about the time of Gregory the Great, it was still associated with Sylvester.¹⁹ Calixtus completely enclosed the old altar with a much more massive monument, and inscribed CALIXTUS II PAPA on its front side. He

¹⁸ Alphanus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae Structura*, p. 31. Speaking of the Confessio: "Huc etenim pro dignitate loci olim christiani ex omnibus terrae partibus tamquam ad fidei petram et Ecclesiae fundamentum convenientes, locum Principis Apostolorum sepulcro consecratum, summa religione ac pietate venerantur, divina audientes et sacramenta percipientes. . . . Huc primum ipse Constantinus Imperator, sanctorum Apostolorum monitis ad fidem conversus, et a beato Silvestro papa sacro baptismatis fonte a lepra mundatus, octavo die post susceptum baptismum, omnipotenti Deo vivo et vero gratias acturus supplex advenit, depositoque diademate et humi iacens vim lacrimarum profudit. . . . et in ea [basilica Sylvester] primum hoc altare lapideum chrismate delibutum erexit, quod figura D. N. Iesu Christi, Qui Altare Hostia et Sacerdos noster est, significaret; super quod Altare nemo nisi Romanus Pontifex, vel de illius mandato aliquis Cardinalis missas celebrare potest, atque ex eo tempore sancivit ne deinceps Altaria nisi ex lapide fierent. Hinc postea omnes Imperatores, Reges ac Reginae ad Urbem proficiscentes primum ob loci sanctitatem omnes Basilicae gradus flexis genibus ascendentes, dictam beati Petri Confessionem parimodo Constantini exemplo venerare consueverunt; et in eadem Confessione humiliter sua sceptrum et diademata posuerunt, et beato Petro Apostolo se et sua regna liberaliter subdiderunt."

¹⁹ For the altar of Constantine *Iib. Pont.* 1, pp. 176–177, & n. 63 of Duchesne; *Liber Politicus*, *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 167: "Sic inclusit [Constantine on the request of Sylvester] corpus beati Petri et ornavit superius altare ex fulvo auro et archam, et fecit tiburium ex columnis porphireticis ex auro mundissimo; posuit ibi ante altare XII columnas vitineas que fuerant de templo Apollinis de Troie, quas de Grecia adduxerat. Posuit et super corpus beati Petri apostoli crucem ex auro puro, habens CL libras, in qua est scriptum: Constantinus Aug. et Helena augusta." Panvinius, *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 235: "Erecta igitur vaticana basilica, Constantinus imperator tum altare etiam maius fundavit maximis quadratis marmoreis tabulis constitutum, una semper cum beato Silvestro papa benedicente omnia, et consecrante, habito quoque magno episcoporum aliorumque sacerdotum, et clericorum conventu concurrentique simul plurima exultantium, et Deum laudantium Christianorum turba. Post quae non minore etiam cum laetitia sacratissimum corpus sancti Petri apostoli ex humilime loco eductum sub altari maiore basilicae ipsius Sylvester et Constantinus summo cum honore ita collocarunt." The biography of Gregory I states: "Hic fecit beato Petro apostolo cyburium cum columnis suis IIII, ex argento puro. Fecit autem vestem super corpus eius blattinio et exornavit auro purissimo, pens. lib. C. Hic fecit, ut super corpus beati Petri missas celebrarentur." *Lib. Pont.* 1, p. 312; Panvinius, op. cit., p. 235: "Sanctus Gregorius papa fecit ad altare beati Petri apostoli ciborium cum quatuor columnis ex argento puro" Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 5, p. 177–180; Apollonj Ghetti et al., *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano* 1, pp. 188–193. These archaeologists stress the attempt of those who rebuilt the altar to tie it to its Constantinian foundation. p. 191: "Tale rivestimento in basso poggiava, come si rammentera, sulla base del monumento costantiniano; sembrerebbe quasi che i costruttori del nuovo complesso abbiano voluto, con la realtà della pietra, confermare il collegamento ideale esistente tra il nuovo altare ed il monumento costantiniano." Among the photographs and diagrams of the altar of Calixtus: fig. 146, p. 192; fig. 170, p. 219. Grimaldi says that the altar, which Calixtus rebuilt, was the altar of Sylvester; Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 248v, Niggli, p. 283: "Supra Confessionem sanctus Sylvester altare lapideum erexit, quod postea (vetustate obsoletum) marmoribus cinctum cum superiori mensa a Callisto 2º iterum consecratur;" Sylvester is the only pope who consecrated the altar before Calixtus whom Grimaldi mentions; inscription, fol. 254r: "S. Sylvester. Papa. Altare. Lapidum supra. corpvs B. Peter. Apostoli. consecravit." fol. 254v: "Hanc historiam consecrationis altaris sancti Petri a sancto Silvestro papa narrat breviarium Romanum, in die dedicationis basilicarum Petri et Pauli." Severano also says that Calixtus

surrounded it with an iron grating and placed a large candelabrum upon it. Pilgrims who journeyed there every three years received a remission of sins.²⁰

Calixtus could have rebuilt the altar and left its identification with Sylvester intact, as Gregory I had done, but by totally concealing the older altar, and engraving his own name upon the new one, he super-

restored the altar of Silvester. "Calisto II. ristaurè l'Altare di S. Pietro edificato da S. Silvestro, circondandolo, & ornandolo di pretiosi marmi, e lo consecro il giorno dell'Annunciatione della gloriosa vergine l'anno 1129 (sic) alla presentia di molti vescovi, che erano venute ad un Concilio; concedendo Indulgenza di tre anni a quelli che visitarebbono. Il qual'Altare si è conservato nell'istesso modo infin'al tempo di Clemente VIII, che senza moverlo, ne levar cosa alcuna di esso, vi edifico sopra quell'altro, che hora si vede;" *Memorie Sacre* 1, p. 118.

²⁰ Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, #56. "De Diurnis Stationibus Sancti Petri," ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 435. "Beatae quoque recordationis domnus Calixtus papa II, quoniam decorem domus Domini, sicut propheta, plurimum dilexit, altare beate Petri, quod nimia vetustate et lapidum percussione quodammodo violatum videbatur, optimis marmoribus vestivit et decoravit; et in festo Annuntiationis beatae Mariae cum toto concilio lapidem altaris satis honorifice et devote consecravit. In qua videlicet consecratione praedictus domnus papa Calixtus, sicut invenimus in libris nostris scriptum et a maioribus et a maioribus nostris accepimus, fecit remissionem ad eam devote venientibus trium annorum annualiter et cancellis ferreis, ut apparet, praedictum sacrosanctum altare circumsaepit. Candelabra quoque argentea magna ad ornatum eius ante altare posuit. Cortinis optimis et magnis ecclesiam adornavit." "Cortinis" could also be translated as "arches", but in the context it seems more probably to mean "curtains" or "tapestries". The consecration is recorded in the book of necrologies. Pietro Egidi, *Necrologi e libri affini della Provincia Romana*, vol. 1, *Necrologi della Città di Roma* (Rome, 1908), p. 286: "Liber Anniversariorum Della Basilica Vaticana Marzo 25. VIII K. A. Consecratio alt. maioris bas. B. Petri facta a Callisto pp. II cum universo concilio, anno eius .v., ind. .I.;" Panvinus, *De basilica vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 237: "Callistus II. papa altare sancti Petri nimia vetustate hominumque in curia deforme, et quasi violatum, dolatis et elegantibus, qui adhuc apparent, lapidibus restituit et decoravit, ac in die celebri annunciationis beatae Mariae anno MCXII. [sic] cum toto episcoporum, abbatum cardinaliumque concilio, et populorum applausu, quum ipse mille fere praelatos congregasset, lapidem altaris pie consecravit. In qua dedicatione concessit perpetuo pro peccatis remissionem annuum trium annorum omnibus, qui eodem die illuc devote accederent." Grimaldi, *Barb. Lat.* 2733, fols. 165v-166r. Grimaldi paraphrases Mallius in red writing in the margins, and on fol. 166r he gives the dimensions of the new altar: "et quoniam, ut superius dictum est, a Callisto secundo vetus altare beati Petri olim a sancto Silvestro papa consecratum, sub quo sacrum eius corpus quiescit, nimia vetustate exoletum marmoribus cinctum eminentius ac nobiliter erectum et consecratum cum inscriptione in fronte: CALIXTUS. II. PAPA. longum palmis XIII, latus palmis IIII, altum palm. VII, Clemens VIII sacrorum rituum congregationis consilio decrevit non collocandas sanctorum reliquias, sed novum altare veteri Callisti compaginandum, dum itaque locus ipse ad aram erigendam construetur per rimulas quasdam apparuit marmoreum altare sancti Silvestri, sigillum habentem in facie apsidem respiciente, quod altare a Callisto inclusum fuit. Summus pontifex eo viso rimulas statim claudi iussit. Tria igitur altaria sunt: sancti Silvestri, Callisti secundi et Clementis octavi." Niggl, *Descrizione della Basilica Antica di S. Pietro*, pp. 204-205; see also by Grimaldi, *Vat. Lat.* 11988, fols. 194r, 195r where following Mallius Grimaldi mentions that Calixtus rebuilt and consecrated the high altar in the presence of the whole council on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. Giorgio Paulo Mucante, *Archivio Segreto, Fondo Borghese* I, 764, fol. 250v " . . . quod altare [that of Clement VIII] Locatum est supra alius altare olim a Calixto secundo consacrato sub quo sunt Corpora Beatorum Apostolorum Petre et Pauli . . ." Alpharandus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae*, n. 1, p. 27; P. F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia I Roma*, p. 141. The measurements taken by the archeologists differ somewhat from those of Grimaldi. Apollonj Ghetti et al., *Esplorazioni* 1, p. 192 & n. 3; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 5, pp. 182, 203, 265.

seded Sylvester as the most visible heir of St. Peter.²¹ When pilgrims came to the most holy spot in St. Peter's, they would see his name. Allegedly when Clement VIII decided to build a new, much larger altar above the altar of Calixtus (1592), the original altar was discovered through small cracks in the outer construction of the altar of Calixtus.²² But in 1123 everyone knew that Sylvester had built the first altar, and it would have been suggested to them that Calixtus was the new Sylvester. As with the frescoes in the Lateran Palace, one can speculate that they would have seen the Concordat of Worms as the counterpart of the Donation of Constantine.

Calixtus encouraged this association by bringing the whole First Lateran Council to St. Peter's to participate in the consecration of the altar. The pope and what is estimated to have been between three hundred and one thousand bishops, abbots and cardinals celebrated the consecration on March 25, 1123, as the culmination of the council summoned in large part to approve the Concordat of Worms. The scene was reminiscent of the consecration of the first altar by Sylvester.²³ The date—the anniversary of the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary—was also carefully chosen.²⁴ The feast of the annunciation was one of the principal

²¹ Alphanus speaks of the veneration in which the altar was held, and that no pope dared to open or to move it. Thus, to enclose the old altar into a new one identified with Calixtus was an astonishing move. *De Basilicae Vaticanae*, p. 7: "Sed absis Basilicae. . . . altare maius erectum fuerat, eo loci ubi Beatus Petrus Christi Vicarius et Apostolorum Princeps, Cruci affixus fuerat atque sepultus, et iuxta eum decem eius sancti successores; quod quidem altare nullus unquam summorum Pontificum ausus est aperire, vel a proprio loco remove, scientes antiquissimam, venerandamque Petri Sedem, insimul et sepulcrum extitisse . . ."

²² Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 166r, as in n. 20. Without naming Grimaldi, Apollonj Ghetti says that the reports written about the alleged cracks seen in the altar of Calixtus when Clement VIII built a new altar above it are flights of fancy. *Esplorazioni* 1, p. 220 & n. 1. For a sketch of all of the altars see *ibid.*, 2, tav. CVIII. Grimaldi also reports that when Clement built the new altar, an ancient sepulchre of a "certain holy pontiff" was discovered at the foot of the confession. "Sub eodem Clemente (dum) altare sancti Petri altius erigeretur (et cum) vetere Callisti secundi (connecteretur) ad pedes (Confessionis detectum) fuit sepulcrum, in quo erat corpus alicuius sancti pontificis, ut indumentorum fragmenta ostendebant, antiquissimum et satis consumptum, quod ibi relictum est ad calcem cratis aeneae, Tiberius Alphanus (etiam praesente)." Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 244r; Niggli, p. 279.

²³ Landulphus of St. Paul's in Milan, Mansi 21:289: ". . . quod domnus papa gratia consecrandi altare dissolvit synodum in ipsa die Mercurii . . ." See also the descriptions of Panvinius in n. 19, and Grimaldi, n. 20 above.

²⁴ Maffeo Vegio, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae* (1455), ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 4, pp. 375–398 at p. 383: "Quod cum nimia postmodum vetustate, hominumque incuria, quasi violatum videretur, optimus tandem pontifex Calixtus secundus optimis quae adhuc apparent, marmoribus denuo extruxit atque ornavit, et in celebri die annunciationis beatae Mariae magno cum episcoporum sacerdotumque conventu populorumque applausu honorifice consecravit. . . ." Note that not only was the council present, but also the people, who applauded. Panciroli estimates that there were 1000 bishops. He also says that Calixtus was the first pope to have restored the confessio after Sylvester and Constantine; *Tesori Nascosti*, pp. 525–526.

festivals of the year, but the festival of the dedication of the altar would take precedence over it.²⁵ Every year Christians would be reminded of Calixtus when the *confessio* was decorated with a mappula and torches in commemoration of the dedication of the altar “facta a papa Calixto”.²⁶

The construction and consecration of the major altar in St. Peter's was by far the most important celebration in 1123, but it was not the only one. In the same year Calixtus surrounded himself with his cardinals and other papal dignitaries to mark the transference of the station of the Feast of the Circumcision to Santa Maria in Trastevere, and he consecrated the major altars of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and S. Silvestro in Capite. It was as though his creative energy had been released by the peace he had achieved with the emperor, and that he wished to announce to the world that the papacy had become the dominant force in Western Christendom. It was not the pastoral papacy envisaged by St. Bernard in *De Consideratione*, but a majestic papacy, which ruled the church and challenged the emperor. Quite probably during this same time an imperial coronation *ordo* reflecting this same vision was being composed under his aegis.

²⁵ See the *Responsoriale et antiphonarium romanae ecclesiae de circulo anni iuxta veterem usum canonicorum basilicae vaticanae sancti Petri*, ed. Tommasi (Thomasius) 1686 (MS B 79, archivio segreto San Pietro); Pierre Jounel, *Le Culte des Saints dans les Basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au Douzième Siècle*, vol. 26 of Collection de L'Ecole Française de Rome (Rome, 1977), p. 230; “In annuntiatione beatae Mariae est Consecratio maioris Altaris beati Petri, de qua Consecratione Vesperas et Matutinum facimus. Tertium vero Nocturnum de beata Maria facimus.” p. 79; Jounel notices that Benedictus Canonicus ignores this festival in the *Liber Politicus*, written during the reign of Innocent II. He speculates that it may have been because it was celebrated without the presence of the pope. pp. 400–401.

²⁶ Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 432, #52: “Quando ornatur lectorium Beati Petri. In memoriam posterorum scribimus nos canonici basilicae Beati Petri, in quibus noctibus lectorium eiusdem basilicae de consuetudine ornatur mappula et faculis duarum librarum a confessione traditis, videlicet: dominica de Gaudete, Natale Domini, Epyfania, Septuagesima, Quinquagesima, cathedra sancti Petri, in dedicatione altaris facta a papa Calixto . . . ”

Chapter 4

LITURGY AND CEREMONY

We have seen how inventive Calixtus was in marshaling art, architecture, and ceremony for conveying his views and molding public opinion. Liturgy was at least as rich a medium for promoting papal policies. Politics and liturgy were intricately intermeshed, and the *ordines* delineating the rituals were rich repositories of their authors' ideology. Imperial coronation *ordines* provided particularly fruitful vehicles for creating images of the pope and the emperor.¹ The carefully orchestrated proceedings, and especially those rituals indicating what authority the pope transmitted to the emperor, defined the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.

All of the movements and utterances in the imperial coronation ceremonies were permeated with symbolism. The locus where the events were staged, the oaths sworn, the character of the garments donned, the insignia transmitted, the laudes shouted out, and the choice of participants all contributed to the composition of a complex message. Each embellishment or alteration modified that message. Sometimes the intent of the author was clear, such as when he prescribed that the pope precede the emperor in the procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran following the coronation. The sequence demonstrated the pope's superior dignity. At other times it was ambiguous—in some cases arguably intentionally—as, for example, the emperor's performance of the *officium stratoris*. Serving as a groom for the pope could have been interpreted to be a feudal act, but it also could merely have been an exhibition of reverence.

Adding to the difficulty in interpreting these rituals is the problem of determining who conceived them and when. In the case of the pontifical *ordo* in the *Liber Politicus*, both questions are answered. The *ordo* was written in the early 1140's by Benedictus, a canon of St. Peter's, after Innocent II had returned to Rome at the end of the schism. In the more typical case of the two imperial coronation *ordines* in the *Liber Censuum*

¹ Reinhard Elze, *Die Ordines für die Weihe und Krönung des Kaisers und der Kaiserin*. *Fontes iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum IX* (Hannover, 1960), p. IX.

no consensus exists as to who wrote them, when, or even if they ever were used.²

Cencius, the *camerarius* of Clement III (1187-1191) and Celestine III (1191-1198), and later himself elected pope as Honorius III (1216-1227), compiled the *Liber Censuum* in 1192. Along with this census of papal revenues Cencius includes a wealth of other material of interest to the papacy, including the two *ordines*.³ The one is comparatively short, and is thought by many scholars to have been the official *ordo*.⁴ It was broadly disseminated, and Cencius included it in a group of diverse documents, for the most part extracts from registers. The last of these writings deals with certain relations between popes and emperors. In the margin Cencius or some later figure wrote: "Si quis vult bene scire benedictionem etc. imperatoris et quid imperator debeat facere domno pape et Urbi in coronatione sua et qualiter dominus papa debeat eum benedicere et coronare, requirat in primo capite hujus libri et primo quaterno."⁵ Paging back to the first part of the book, one finds the much longer *ordo*, frequently referred to as Cencius II in contrast to the shorter Cencius I.⁶

I believe that there is substantial evidence to conclude that the shorter of the two was the basic outline for coronations in the early twelfth century. And I think that a strong case can be made that Calixtus II inspired the longer, and more intriguing one at the beginning of the *Liber Censuum*. If Calixtus were its creator, then changes from the more simple *ordo*, and especially the much greater detail become a goldmine yielding rich ore. The nuggets would contain his vision of a papacy vastly invigorated under his stewardship.

For simplification I shall refer to Cencius I as *ordo* B, and Cencius II as *ordo* C. I shall argue that *ordo* C was not just an elaboration of *ordo* B, as

² For the composition of the *Liber Censuum* see T. Montecchi Palazzi, "Cencius camerarius et la formation du Liber censuum de 1192," *Mélanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire: Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 96 (1984), 49-93; Uta-Renata Blumenthal, "Cardinal Albinus of Albano and the 'Digesta pauperis scholaris Albini.' Ms. Ottob. lat. 3057," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 20 (1982), 7-49; for the liturgy, Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age*, Studi e Testi 86, 4 vols., vol. 1 *Le Pontifical Romain du XII^e Siècle* (Vatican City, 1938); Eduard Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1941), and the review by Robert Holtzmann, *Historische Zeitschrift* 167 (1943), 370-377.

³ For a description of the contents see the introduction by Duchesne, vol. 1, pp. 1-25.

⁴ *Lib. Cens.* 1, pp. 420-421.

⁵ *Lib. Cens.* 1, p. 420, n. 1. Some scholars transliterate *etc.* to read "et c(oronationem)". For all of the manuscripts and editions of this *ordo* see Elze, *Ordines*, pp. 22-23.

⁶ *Lib. Cens.* 1, pp. 1*-6*; Cencius II is found in only one manuscript, Vat. Lat. 8486. For a description of the manuscript and editions of this *ordo* see *Lib. Cens.* 1, n. 1, p. 1*, & Elze, *Ordines*, pp. 35-36. I will use the Elze edition for both *ordines*; see also Hans Walter Klewitz, "Papsttum und Kaiserkrönung. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Alter des Ordo Cencius II," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 4 (1941), 412-443; Eduard Eichmann, "Der Kaiserkrönungsordo 'Cencius II'," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1924), pp. 322-337.

the writer of the note in the margin implies, but a carefully crafted delineation of a ceremony designed to shift the balance of papal and imperial dignity to the advantage of the pope. After describing *ordo C*, I shall compare it with its more brief counterpart to discern the moves leading to this new equilibrium.

A. *ORDO C*

The author makes his intention clear in the opening rubric concerning how the emperor ought to be crowned. The rubric declares that it begins the *ordo romanus* for the benediction of the emperor when he receives his crown from the pope in St. Peter's basilica at the altar of St. Maurice.⁷ Even though the rubric does not mention the queen, the *ordo* outlines the rituals performed for her coronation as well as the emperor's. The ceremony begins as the royal couple enter Rome from the North.

The future emperor descends from Monte Mario to the church of Santa Maria Transpadina, where he is received by the prefect of the city, the count of the Lateran Palace, the count's wife, the dative judge, and the treasurer. He then meets the pope sitting at the top of the stairs leading to St. Peter's next to the bronze doors of the little church of Santa Maria in Turri, built into the walls of the basilica complex. The emperor-elect kisses the feet of the pope, who is surrounded by bishops, cardinals, and prelates of other ecclesiastical orders. The queen then recedes with her escorts, and the elect swears fidelity to the pope.

After the papal *camerarius* takes the pallium of the elect, the pope asks him three times if he wishes to have peace with the church. Following three affirmative responses, the pope says: "I give you peace, just as the Lord gave to his disciples" (6). Then he kisses the elect on his forehead and chin—for, as the *ordo* adds, he ought to be shaved—then on both cheeks, and finally on his mouth. The pattern is that of the cross.

Then rising, the pope asks the elect three times if he wishes to be the son of the church. After affirmative responses, the pope promises to receive him as the son of the church, and enmantles him. The elect kisses the pope's breast, and then joined by other prelates they enter the bronze doors while the canons sing, "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel" all the way to the silver door. There the pope leaves him praying and the queen arrives. With the completion of his prayer the elect arises, and the bishop of Albano intones the first prayer over him (10).

The pope then enters St. Peter's while the canons sing, "Petre amas me?". After making a benediction he sits in the seat prepared for him at

⁷ In the Elze edition, *Ordines*, pp. 36–47.

the right side of the rota.⁸ The archpriest of the cardinals and the archdeacon lead the elect to his seat on the other side of the rota, and instruct him on how he is to respond to the *scrutinium* of the pope.⁹ Seven bishops sit at the right of the pope, and German bishops sit at the right of the elect. Cardinals and members of other orders also are seated. The pope then begins the questions, which, he asserts, are prescribed by the church fathers (14 & 15). The first questions concern the ethics of the elect and his inclination to perform good works. The next set turns to theology, and the final one to the church as an institution.

After the prescribed responses the pope moves to the *secretarium*, where he dresses in his pontifical garments. In the meantime the Bishop of Porto raises another prayer over the elect from the center of the middle rota. Thereafter the archpriest and archdeacon of the cardinals lead the elect to the chorus of St. Gregory, where they dress him in his liturgical robes and bring him to the pope at the *secretarium*. There they acknowledge (*fatiat*) him as a cleric by granting him the episcopal insignia of the tunic, *dalmatica*, *pluviale*, *mitra*, *caligas* and *sandalia*, which are worn in his coronation. Thus dressed, he stands before the lord pope.

While the elect is undergoing this transformation, the bishop of Ostia leaves through the silver door, where he meets the queen with her entourage, and raises a prayer for her (21). She then is led to the altar of St. Gregory, where she awaits the pope. With these ceremonies completed, the pope's ministers dress him in the *planeta* and *pallium*, and place the mitre on his head. Accompanied by his ministers he proceeds to the altar of St. Peter, followed by the elect and his retinue, and then the

⁸ For the rota see Michel Andrieu, "La 'Rota porphyretica' de la Basilique Vaticane," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, pub. by L'École française de Rome 65 (1954), 189–218; Glass, *Studies on Cosmatesque Pavements*, pp. 48–51. The grand rota in St. Peter's was a porphyry roundel opposite the altar of the Holy Sacrament. The use of porphyry had a long history both in the East and the West because of its color, which was associated with royalty. For this reason it had great ceremonial value. As we shall see the grand rota in St. Peter's was the locus of critical parts of papal and imperial coronation ceremonies, both in the *ordines* and as reported in the actual ceremonies. Grimaldi, *Barb. Lat.* 2733, fols. 104v–105r for a sketch of old St. Peter's and the rota prominently drawn between the *altare sanctissimi sacramenti et sanctorum Simonis et Iudae et Pulpitus Cantorum* (plate 20). In the inscription describing the rota Grimaldi states: "Rota porphyretica ante altare sanctissimi Sacramenti, supra quam papa in coronatione imperatoris unam orationem dicebat, ut antiqui ceremoniales libri notant; et ad quam Paschalis 2^s captus fuit a Caesarianis, ut inquit cardinalis Baronius; nunc humi sepulta est immediate sub musiveis stemmatibus Paul V magni fornicis mediae navis." Cf. fol. 107v; Niggli, *Descrizione della Basilica Antica di St. Pietro*, pp. 137–141.

⁹ The *scrutinium* is based upon the one which bishops underwent at their consecration. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain du XII^e Siècle*, c. X, n. 10–11, pp. 142–144; *ibid.*, *Le Pontifical Romain de la Curie Romaine au XIII^e Siècle*, c. XI, n. 13, p. 355 and intro., p. 291; Eichmann (*Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, p. 165) notes that the *scrutinium* is taken from the Pontifical of Mainz and the Roman so called scr. serotinum.

queen. The *primicerius* and the *scholae* sing the *introitus* and the *kireileison*. The pope ascends to the altar, and after confession gives peace to the deacons and *incensat*. He then ascends to his throne.

The elect, positioned between the pope and the queen, prostrates himself before the altar of St. Peter, and the archdeacon offers a litany. After the removal of the elect's *pluviale* the bishop of Ostia anoints his right arm and the area between his shoulders with exorcized oil, and utters a prayer over him notable for the phrase, "in tua dispositione constituto ad regendam ecclesiam tuam" (26). Another prayer follows and then the ceremony of the benediction of the queen.

The pope then descends from his throne and walks to the altar of St. Maurice, followed by the elect and his wife. The pope stands before the entry to the altar, and the elect in the middle of the rota. At his right stands the queen with six bishops from the Lateran Palace, while the seventh serves the pope at the altar. The crowns for the elect and the queen are removed from the altar of St. Peter and placed on the altar of St. Maurice. The pope then gives the ring to the elect and says: "Receive the ring, namely as a sign of the holy faith, the solidity of the kingdom, the increase of power through which you will be able to repel the enemy with triumphal power, to destroy heresies, to unite your subjects, and to join together in the steadfast preservation of the Catholic faith."¹⁰ After a prayer, the pope girds him with the sword to deal with all enemies of the church, and says another prayer.

Finally the highpoint of the ceremony arrives. The archdeacon removes the crown from the altar of St. Maurice, and hands it to the pope, who places it on the head of the elect with the following prayer: "Accept the sign of glory, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so that having shunned the ancient enemy and the contagion of all sins, you may accordingly love judgment and justice; thus you may live mercifully, and thus you may take possession of the crown from this same our lord Jesus Christ in consortium with the saints of the eternal kingdom . . ." (38)

After the coronation of the queen the pope grants the emperor the scepter as a sign of his royal power, and recites a prayer.¹¹ He then

¹⁰ The investiture with the ring is a peculiarity of *ordo C* according to Andrieu, *Le Pontifical de la Curie*, p. 294; Eichmann, however, points out that the ring is also included in the coronation *ordo* of Mainz; *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, p. 164; the essential insignia for the ancient *imperator Romanorum* were the diadem, scepter, globe, and sword; *ibid.* 2, p. 49; conspicuously missing from this list was the ring.

¹¹ The *sceptra imperialia* was one of the insignia of imperial dignity and power reputedly transmitted to Sylvester by Constantine in his Donation: ". . . conferentes etiam et imperialia sceptra, simulque et conta atque signa, banda etiam et diversa ornamenta imperialia et omnem processionem imperialis culminis et gloriam potestatis nostrae." Carl

returns with his minister to the altar of St. Peter. The prefect of the city and the *primicerius* of the judges lead the emperor away, and a lower group of officials, the queen. The pope then continues the mass with the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. After the prayer—*Deus regnorum omnium*—the archdeacon with the deacons of the palace, the *primicerius* and the subdeacons, standing between the cross and the altar, begin the laudes (46).¹² After the *Exaudi Christe*, the schola and notaries respond three times: “To our lord C. decreed by God highest pontiff and universal pope, life.” The second praise is to the emperor, unidentified in contrast to the “C.” of the pope: “To our lord emperor, great and pacific, crowned by God, life and victory.” The third praise is to the queen identified as N[omen]. There are then praises to the *Exercitui romano et theutonico*, and thereafter to the Savior, Mary, and nine saints. Then comes the traditional *Christus vincit*, *Christus regnat*, *Christus imperat* shouted out three times. The laudes conclude with a number (eight) of calls beginning with *Spes nostra*, to each of which is responded *Christus vincit*. They conclude with: *Ipsi laus honor et imperium per immortalia secula saeculorum. Amen.*

Upon the completion of the laudes the epistle is read, and the gradual and alleluia sung. Before the reading of the gospel the emperor and empress remove their crowns. After the reading the emperor removes his sword, and ascends to the seat of the pope, followed by the empress. Each of them makes an offering, and then returns to his and her place. Following the mass the count of the palace removes the emperor's

Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, new ed. Kurt Aland, 5 vols. (Tübingen, 1967), 1, p. 254; *ordo C* and the *ordo* of Apamea (Elze, *Ordines*, pp. 47–50) alone describe the tradition of the scepter; Elze dates the Apamea to the second half of the twelfth century. As compared with *ordo C*, the pope invests the elect with the scepter before the coronation; thus, he is still an elect, and not the emperor; *ibid.*, 50.

¹² Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1958), p. 144: “In the formulary transmitted in his Order the interlacement of acclamations and invocations of the saints is abolished. Four hails—to the pope, the emperor, the empress, and the army—open the song; then follows as in the *laudes papales* an uninterrupted series of saint invocations, thereafter the *Christus vincit* with a small number of laudatory invocations and the doxology in an abbreviated form. It is a simplified pattern of Franco-Roman laudes and discloses the tendency to assimilate the imperial acclamations to the new form of papal laudes.” Eichmann (*Die Kaiserkrönung*, 1 pp. 212–214) says that the structure of the laudes is essentially the same as in the Frankish time except that the patron saints are separated from the acclamations. The number of saints called upon is greater, and the Greek patron of the army, Theodore, is replaced by Sts. Mauritius and Mercurius. The queen is mentioned in the acclamations, but conspicuously missing are the *praecellentissimi filii reges*. He notes that the emperor is entitled, *magnus* and *pacificus*, but not *Augustus* or *Romanorum*. He also notes that the call to victory over evil powers, the “*Christus vincit*”, is shortened from the Frankish 13 to 8 calls. With the call to “*ipsi [Christo] laus, honor et imperium per immortalia saecula saeculorum*” the hymn becomes a kind of jubilation to the heavenly emperor, whose earthly image is the earthly empire.

liturgical footwear, and dresses him with the imperial greaves and the spurs of St. Maurice (49).

With their crowns in place the emperor and empress are led to their horses, and when the pope arrives, the emperor holds the stirrup of his horse to help him mount. Then, crowned, the pope enters the procession, followed by the emperor and behind him, the empress. All of the clergy of the city call out laudes from their own locations, and similarly the Jews from theirs. The city is crowned, and bells ring out. Imperial treasurers scatter coins in front of the procession to keep onlookers from closing in.

When the procession arrives at the hill before the palace, the prior of the cardinals, the cardinal of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, begins the laudes, and the others respond. The emperor dismounts, and after the pope has removed his crown, the emperor holds the stirrup for him. The prefect of the city and the emperor conduct the pope to the *camera maioris* of the palace, and there they separate. The empress is taken to the camera of Julia, where she will eat with bishops and some of her barons. The treasurers of the pope and the emperor dispense gifts to the officials of the palace, while the pope and the emperor rest.

Later at a formal dinner the emperor sits at the right of the pope. After the meal there is a reading, some singing, and benedictions. Thereafter the pope returns to his chambers, and the emperor to the quarters of his wife. With no transition the *ordo* then jumps back to the elect's descent into Rome before the coronation ceremonies, and records his oath to the Romans (57-59). The reader is left dangling with the stipulation of two subsequent locations where the oath is to be sworn.

There are some scholars—notably Ernst Kantorowicz—who believe that Cencius himself wrote *ordo* C.¹³ In his subtle studies on the *ordines* Hans Walter Klewitz concluded that *ordo* C mirrors the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, and that it may have been written c. 1100.¹⁴ Two years later he speculated that the earliest it may have been used was for the coronation of Lothar III.¹⁵ Johannes Ramackers constructs a plausible case for the reign of Urban II, or even more probably, for that of Paschal

¹³ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 133. Kantorowicz dates the *ordo* to 1196–1197 on the basis of the papalized imperial laudes; see also pp. 234–242. For a long analysis of his theory see Reinhard Elze, “Die Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* KA 40 (1954), 201–223 at pp. 214–218. This article is included as #X in a collection of Variorum Reprints, ed. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig & Ludwig Schugge entitled *Päpste- Kaiser- Könige und die mittelalterliche Herrschaftssymbolik* (London, 1982). On p. 213 Elze reviews the dating of E. Eichmann, P. E. Schramm, J. Haller, and H. W. Klewitz.

¹⁴ Klewitz, “Papsttum und Kaiserkrönung,” p. 443.

¹⁵ Hans Walter Klewitz, Review of Eduard Eichmann, “Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* KA 32 (1943), 509–525.

II. He asks when the impetus for such an *ordo* would have arisen, and he reasons that the projected coronation of Henry V in February 1111 could have provided the occasion.¹⁶ In the negotiations preceding the interrupted coronation Henry and Paschal had reached a tentative agreement stipulating that Henry would relinquish episcopal investitures in return for the bishops' restoration of their *regalia* to the emperor. Ramackers sees the *ordo* as a compromise, not a radical program, and he speculates that Paschal's chancellor, John of Gaeta wrote it. He argues that the ceremony corresponded to *ordo* C until Henry's capture of Paschal and his entourage.

In a series of articles on the *ordines* culminating in a magisterial two volume study, Eduard Eichmann reasons that primarily because *ordo* C is free from papal encroachments upon imperial power, it must have been written before the hierocratic reign of Gregory VII. Supporting this reasoning, he argues that since the *ordo* still emphasizes the participation of the people in the coronation—a practice weakened during the reform when the papacy stressed the Donation of Constantine—it must have been written before the reform.¹⁷ Further evidence of this hypothesis, he believes, is that the pope is not characterized as the giver of the imperial insignia, but only as God's transmitter ("accipe [coronam] signum glorie in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti").¹⁸ He also reasons that because Henry relinquished the investiture of bishops with the spiritual symbols of the ring and staff in the Concordat of Worms in 1122, and that since the ring is prominently mentioned in *ordo* C, the *ordo* must have been written before 1122. At one time he argued forcefully that it was written c. 962 during the reign of Otto I, but later he adjusted the date to c. 1000, with its first use in the coronation of Henry II in 1014.¹⁹

In a critical review of Eichmann's theories, Robert Holtzmann emphasizes that *ordo* C was transmitted only by Cencius in the *Liber Censuum*, and that it never appeared in any Pontifical. He dates it to 1191, but concludes that it was only one of many private *ordines*, and that it never was used.²⁰ In support of this contention, Holtzmann emphasizes that the oath of fidelity sworn by the emperor to the pope on the steps of St. Peter's before his coronation was one of the most prominent features of the *ordo*. In reality, he claims, such an oath was never either demanded

¹⁶ Johannes Ramackers, "Das Alter des Kaiserkrönungsordo Cencius II," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 37 (1957), 16–54, at pp. 24–25.

¹⁷ Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, pp. 240–241.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 243.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

²⁰ Holtzmann, review of Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, *Historische Zeitschrift* 167 (1943), 370–377 at 374.

or sworn. All the more noteworthy, he observes, is the fact that this *ordo* puts such special value on it. He speculates that the idea of the requirement for such an oath arose during a time when the papacy wanted to brand the empire as a papal fief, i. e. during the reign of Innocent II or Adrian IV. He concludes that Cencius only incorporated it as an afterthought (*nachträglich*) because the official *ordo*—Cencius I or *ordo* B—was short, and that many usages had developed since it was written.²¹

Taking all of the literature into account until 1960, Reinhard Elze concludes that *ordo* C most probably was written between the reigns of Urban II and Innocent II.²² This conjecture is the most convincing, and the tantalizing reference to the pope as “C.” (*Domino nostro C. a Deo decreto*) suggests that the reign could have been that of Calixtus.²³ Subordinating the emperor to the pope by marking him with an accentuated ecclesiastical character, and shifting the location of the coronation, the author of the *ordo* tips the balance of authority in favor of the pope.

B. COMPARISON OF *ORDO* B WITH *ORDO* C

Historians may differ over who wrote *ordo* C and when, but they all agree that *ordo* B preceded *ordo* C, that *ordo* B was used in the beginning of the twelfth century, and that the author of *ordo* C used *ordo* B as one of his sources.²⁴ It is therefore instructive to compare the two to see how the author of *ordo* C embellished and changed the ceremony. The comparison may enable us to identify the author, who clearly intended to imply that in contrast to *ordo* B, through consecration and

²¹ Ibid., 375–376; Holtzmann dates *ordo* B to the 9th or 10th century.

²² Elze, *Ordines*, pp. 46–47; see n. 1, p. XIII for a review of the literature; the older studies by Percy Ernst Schramm are especially important. See also Elze, “Die Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter,” p. 218: “Aus sich heraus ist sie nicht genau datierbar, nur der Terminus a quo (Ende 11. Jh.) steht fest; die genauere Datierung kann nur im Zusammenhang mit dem ganzen Ordo versucht werden; das kann hier nicht geschehen, doch sei nicht verschwiegen, dass ich den Ordo nicht vor Urban II. und nicht nach Innozenz II. ansetzen möchte, also ‘um 1100, vor 1143.’”

²³ Ibid., 45; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, p. 213 argues that the “C” refers to the pope at the time in which Cencius inserted it into the *Liber Censuum* rather than to the pope under whose reign it was written. Thus, he reasons, it referred either to Clement III or Celestine III.

²⁴ In a somewhat analogous case Schramm demonstrates how Benzo of Alba embellished the Salian coronation *ordo* to enhance the imperial image. A passionate supporter of Henry IV, Benzo died in 1085. Schramm reprints the short and simple Salian *ordo* on pp. 394–395 of his article, “Der ‘Salische Kaiserordo’ und Benzo von Alba: Ein neues Zeugnis des Graphia = Kreis,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 1 (1937), 389–407. He reprints Benzo’s much longer version on pp. 400–403. Whereas *ordo* C emphasizes papal stature, Benzo emphasizes imperial. Schramm (p. 404) points out that Benzo was a master of the “mise en scène”, a characteristic also applicable to the author of *ordo* C. Thus, there was a recent precedent for using coronation orders for political ends.

coronation the emperor becomes the servant or the creation of the church.²⁵

The contrast between the two *ordines* is apparent from the outset. While the first rubric in *ordo* B states only that it is the beginning of the *ordo* for blessing the emperor when he receives his crown, *ordo* C announces immediately that the ceremony is to be performed at the altar of St. Maurice in the basilica of St. Peter. The description in *ordo* C starts with the emperor's arrival into Rome, whereas *ordo* B begins well after when the elect swears an oath to the pope. The difference in the treatment of this oath in each *ordo* is portentous for the ideological differences which follow. Whereas in *ordo* B the emperor promises to protect and to defend the church, he makes no promises to the pope himself. By contrast, in *ordo* C he swears *fidelitas* not only to the pope, but also to the pope's successors.²⁶ He also promises to protect the pope and his successors as well as the church. Likewise not included in *ordo* B is the promise to perform these duties "without fraud and evil intent". The obvious implication of this final promise is that fraud and evil intent were very real possibilities.

After the oath *ordo* B skips immediately to the prayer of the bishop of Albano, while *ordo* C describes the removal of the emperor's cloak, and the pope's thrice uttered questions of whether the elect wishes to have peace with the church and to become the son of the church.²⁷ After the ceremonies between the bronze and the silver doors, *ordo* C again coincides with *ordo* B with the prayer of the bishop of Albano. The prayer is identical except that *imperator* is demoted to *principi* in *ordo* C. *Ordo* B says nothing about any ritual at the rota or the changing into papal garments in the *secretarium*, but proceeds to the bishop of Porto's prayer in the middle of the rota. It records this prayer in full, whereas

²⁵ For the best discussion of the literature see the introduction of Elze, *Ordines*, pp. VI–XVI; in the Elze edition *ordo* B is #X (pp. 22–25), and is entitled Cencius I; *ordo* C is #XIV (pp. 35–47), and is entitled Cencius II; see also, Andrieu, *Le Pontifical de la curie Romaine*, pp. 288–300; *ordo* B is included in Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain du XII^e Siècle*, pp. 251–252; P. E. Schramm, "Die Ordines der mittelalterlichen Kaiserkrönung," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 11 (1930), 285–389 at 375–386; for a specific comparison of the two *ordines* see Eduard Eichmann, "Das Verhältnis von 'Cencius I' zu 'Cencius II'," *Der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters; Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern Gewidmet*, ed. Albert Lang, Joseph Lechner, Michael Schmaus; 1. Halbband (Münster, 1935), pp. 204–245; for the dating of *ordo* C see Duchesne's introduction in the *Lib. Cens.* 1, pp. 26, 107. Johannes Haller, "Die Formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 33 (1944), 49–100 at p. 63.

²⁶ Elze, *Ordines* 4, p. 37: "iuro . . . tibi N. beati Petri apostoli vicario fidelitatem tuisque successoribus canonice intransibis."

²⁷ Ibid., 6, p. 37. The elect's kissing the breast of the pope at the end of this ceremony in *ordo* C could have been the motif for the controversial fresco of the coronation of Lothar III, which will be discussed below.

ordo C only records the opening invocation, and states that the prayer continues as in the unction of the king. This treatment appears to be an intentional minimization of the bishop of Porto's prayer, since the author records the other two episcopal prayers in full. Its distinguishing features are its Old Testament references, and its association of the emperor with such pre-Christian kings as David and Samuel. These associations might have connoted a conception of an emperor independent of the church, which Calixtus would have been reluctant to stress.

The already profound differences between the *ordines* become even greater at this point. *Ordo* B states that the participants move to the *confessio* of St. Peter—the open space just before the saint's grave under the major altar—where the bishop of Ostia anoints him.²⁸ By emphasizing that both the elect and the pope change into their liturgical garb, *Ordo* C thereby highlights the distinction between the spiritual and the secular. Rather than the *confessio* of St. Peter of *ordo* B, *ordo* C prescribes that the ceremony take place at the altar.²⁹ Possibly the association of the *confessio* with the grave of St. Peter carried a more spiritual connotation than the altar. This hypothesis is enhanced by the inclusion of "sanctam" ("ad regendam ecclesiam tuam sanctam") in *ordo* B in the otherwise virtually identical prayers of the bishop of Ostia in the two *ordines*.

After the anointment ceremony *ordo* B immediately proceeds to the coronation, which is consummated at the altar of St. Peter.³⁰ In stark contrast, following the anointment of the queen *ordo* C describes the movement of the proceedings to the altar of St. Maurice.³¹ There the

²⁸ Ibid., 6–7, p. 24.

²⁹ Ibid., 25, p. 41.

³⁰ Ibid., 9–10, p. 25.

³¹ Ibid., 31, p. 43; writing after 1160 during the reign of Alexander III Petrus Mallius reverses the order, stating that the emperor was anointed at the altar of St. Maurice, and crowned at that of St. Peter; under the rubric of "De altare sancti mauricii martyris et eius dignitatibus", numbered 11, he says: "Iuxta hoc altare [altare Sancti Silvestri] per directum est altare sancti Mauricii martyris; ad quod scilicet altare de antiqua consuetudine Romanorum imperator a domnis episcopis cardinalibus benedicitur et ungitur. Ad altare vero maius beati Petri a domno papa benedicitur et coronatur, et de sacrosancto altari eius per manus romani pontificis ad defendendam Ecclesiam gladium accipit." Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 390. Relying upon Mallius, Maffeo Vegio wrote in 1455 (Ibid. 4, p. 392): "Nunc ingrediamur basilicam ipsam, et quod primum praeter alia, quae dicta sunt, occurrit, altare beati Mauricii martyris referamus; cuius illa singularis est dignitas, quod imperator antequam ad altare Sancti Petri, a romano pontifice coronam imperii ad gladium defendendae Ecclesiae causa, suscipiet; ibi primum ab episcopis et cardinalibus benedicitur et ungitur. Cui proximum est altare sancti Silvestri papae." Grimaldi describes the location of the altar of St. Maurice, Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 193r, ed. Niggel, p. 232: "Oratorium sive sacellum sancti Leonis papae primi situm erat iuxta oratorium domini Hadriani papae primi et e regione altaris sancti Mauricii in dextra parte basilicae versus meridiem ad latus apsidis maioris altaris principis apostolorum in postremo laterali pariete apsidis praedictae . . ." Grimaldi relies upon Alphanus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae Structura*. Alphanus, who died between 1567–1569, includes tantalizing information (p. 46) not mentioned elsewhere: "Sed hinc per directum ex adverso in parastate fornices minorum navium sustinente, ad

investiture with ring and sword precede the coronation, and that of the scepter follows it. Whereas *ordo* B concludes with the coronation, *ordo* C describes the return to the altar of St. Peter, the continuation of the mass, the laudes, the completion of the mass, the procession to the Lateran, and the ceremonies there.

The differences between the two *ordines* are not just ones of detail, but also matters of substance. The substantive changes form a pattern of a diminution of the priestly essence in the imperial office, and an increase in papal dignity at the expense of imperial stature. The opening imperial oath of fidelity to the pope sets the tone of a personal loyalty—possibly even feudal—and not just of an obligation to protect the church. The additional promise to eschew fraud and evil intent fits the paradigm of the coronations of 1111, which would have been Calixtus' models, for most churchmen considered Henry to have been guilty of both.

The substitution of "prince" for "emperor" in the prayer of the bishop of Albano in *ordo* C, and indeed the withholding of the appellation of "emperor" until after the coronation, signifies that the elect receives his imperial dignity through consecration and coronation. The detailed descriptions of the changing into liturgical garments emphasizes the elect's clerical nature during the coronation, and as an ecclesiastical figure, his subjection to the pope. The seemingly minor change from the anointment at the *confessio* of St. Peter in *ordo* B to the altar in *ordo* C followed by the omission "sanctus" in the prayer of the bishop of Ostia in *ordo* C detracts from the spiritual nature of the emperor. And most importantly, the degradation of the coronation from the altar of St. Peter to that of a saint associated with Burgundy and the house of Saxony tarnishes the imperial luster.

A comparison of the two coronation ceremonies of Henry V with *ordo* C suggests strongly that Calixtus modified *ordo* B to apply to the situation following the cataclysmic events of 1111, and to fit the new *modus vivendi* achieved with the same emperor who participated in those events. The political thrust of *ordo* C reflects Calixtus' continuing competition with the emperor. Rather than contending over investitures, Calixtus chose art, liturgy, ceremony and diplomacy as his new battleground.

Orientem e regione Altaris sancti Leonis papae, erat sacellum cum Altari sancti Mauritij martyris eidem parastati adhaerente, cuius illa singularis erat dignitas, quod Imperator designatus antequam ad Altare sancti Petri a Romano Pontifice coronam imperij ad gladium defendendae Ecclesiae causa susciperet, ibi primum ab Episcopis cardinalibus, more veterum benedici et inungi solebat. Huius arae multa mentio est in actis coronationum omnium romanorum imperatorum denique Iohannes de Paparonibus Canonicus Basilicae dotem aduxit." See also the Appendix #22, p. 185: "Altare sancti Mauritij martyris ad Ioanne de Paparonibus Basilicae Canonico optimo dotatum; ad quod Imperator et Imperatrix ab Episcopis Cardinalibus benedicuntur et in brachio dextro oleo sancto unguuntur antequam a summo Pontifice ad Altare sancti Petri coronentur."

Chapter 5

THE CORONATIONS OF 1111 AS THE BACKGROUND FOR *ORDO C*

A strong case can be made that the dramatic coronation ceremonies of February and April 1111 provide the backdrop for the creation of *ordo C*.¹ Like the coronations of Lothar III in 1133 and Frederick I in 1155, they were both irregular. They were also deeply humiliating to the papacy. As archbishop of Vienne in 1111, and as a proud champion of papal authority, the future Calixtus insisted that Paschal retaliate in order to reinstate respect for the papacy. Henry had captured the pope and the large number of cardinals assisting him during the coronation of February, and had held them captive until Paschal backed down on his stand on imperial investitures. Henry then freed the pope, and in turn Paschal crowned him in St. Peter's in April. But the conflict did not stop there. Even though Paschal declared his privilege on investitures to be null and void because it had been extorted by force, fearing a schism, he refused

¹ The main source for the events of February and April 1111 is Codex Vaticanus Latinus 1984, a narrative and accompanying documents originating from the Register of Paschal II; it is published in the *Lib. Cens.* 1, pp. 409–413; also selections by Albinus, *Lib. Cens.* 2, pp. 135–137; The Codex Udalrici records an encyclical Henry sent to the church of Parma, which includes many of the documents and his interpretations. The Codex also transmits documents relevant to the coronation of April 11, 1111. Philipp Jaffé, *Monumenta Bambergensia*, vol. 5 of *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (Aalen, 1964), pp. 269–277; MGH Legum Sectio IV, Constitutiones & Acta, pp. 147–150, which record the imperial sources on pp. 134–153; *Annales Romani*, *Lib. Pont.* 2, pp. 338–343; Boso inserts parts of the *Annales* into his life of Paschal, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 369; Pandulfus presents a much more dramatic account, *ibid.*, 300–301; William of Malmesbury includes a few details not mentioned in other sources, *Gestis Regum Anglorum*, MGH SS 10:479–480; Petrus Diaconus, whose reliability must always be questioned, presents still other intriguing details in his *Chronicle of Montecassino*, MGH SS 34:502–509; Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon* MGH SS 3:243–245; Watterich includes other German sources, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, pp. 48–73; for an analysis of Vat. Lat. 1984 containing the *Relatio* of Paschal see David Whitton, “The *Annales Romani* and Codex Vaticanus Latinus 1984,” *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 84 (1972–3), 125–147. For recent analyses of the events of 1111 see Stanley Chodorow, “Paschal II, Henry V, and the Origins of the Crisis of 1111,” *Popes, Teachers and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Ross Sweeney and Stanley Chodorow (Ithaca & London, 1989), pp. 3–25; Glauco Maria Cantarella, *La Costruzione della verità: Pasquale II, un papa alle Strette* (Rome, 1987); Carlos Servatius, *Paschalis II. 1099–1118*; Pöpste und Papsttum 14 (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 296–325.

to go back on his word not to excommunicate Henry.² Guy and other hard line prelates demanded that the pope break his promise.

When Guy was elected pope in 1119 Henry was still reigning, and the residual of papal weakness displayed in the imperial coronation ceremonies of 1111 had not yet been expunged. Rather, it had deepened during the unstable reign of Gelasius. As pope Calixtus had the opportunity not just to restore, but even to heighten papal dignity by formulating a new imperial coronation *ordo*. He could replace the brief outline of the ceremony contained in *ordo* B with a detailed set of directives prescribing each ritual, including those which had been customary, but unwritten. The new *ordo* could also modify existing ceremonies to reflect the prestige the papacy was gaining during his reign, and thereby further shift the balance of authority between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in favor of the pope.

Since writers who describe the coronations of 1111 use a variant of the expression, "as is prescribed in the *ordo*", it is clear that there was an official *ordo*. Scholars generally agree that it was *ordo* B. What is not known precisely is what rituals were customary beyond those specifically prescribed in the *ordo*. In February 1111 Petrus Leonis, the father of the future Anaclet, had promised that Paschal would crown Henry according to the customs of his predecessors.³ Henry presumably would have been satisfied with those customs, but needed to be assured that possibly invidious innovations would not be introduced.

In April the situation was distinctly different from the first aborted coronation. Paschal and the cardinals with him had just been released from captivity, and Henry was not entering the city from the north over Monte Mario, but from the Sabina, where he had held Paschal captive. None of the ceremonies precedent to entering St. Peter's was applicable, and given the tension and hostility generated by the pope's capture, a speedy ceremony conforming to the few rituals prescribed in the *ordo*, was desirable.⁴

² Guy summoned a council at Vienne in September 1112 in his capacity as papal legate, but without papal authorization. He used the council to attack Henry, and to criticize Paschal for his concessions in April 1111. The delegates to the council excommunicated Henry, and then drafted a letter to Paschal, calling him a *simplicitas*, and threatening to withdraw obedience from him if he did not sanction Henry's excommunication. Mansi 21:73–78; in a letter to Paschal from delegates to the council (p. 75) Guy says: "Scriptum illud, quod rex a vestra simplicitate extorsit, damnavimus." PL 163:1305; Stroll, "Calixtus II," pp. 13–14 and ns. 37 & 38.

³ MGH Legum Sectio IV, Henry V. Constitutiones; *Promissio papae per Petrum Leonis dicta*, February 1111, p. 139: "Regem benigne et honorifice suscipiet et, more praedecessorum ipsius catholicorum scienter non subtracto, coronabit." Iuramentum in anima papae, April 11, 1111, p. 143: "Nec remanebit in domno papa, quin coronet eum sicut in Ordine continetur."

⁴ Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, pp. 223–224.

A. ACCOUNTS OF THE CORONATIONS

The *Relatio* from the register of Paschal provides the most extensive account of the proceedings of February.⁵ It describes Henry's entry into Italy, and the negotiations over investitures at Santa Maria in Turri and at Sutri preceding the anticipated coronation. With these concluded Henry is met by papal functionaries, and is ceremoniously led from Monte Mario while the people spread branches in front of the procession. The emperor swears the customary two oaths to the Roman people at the *ponticellum* and at the gate of the *porticus*. Before the gate he is greeted by the Jews, and within it by the Greeks. By order of the pope, the clergy of the city of Rome meet him, and after he has dismounted they lead him to the steps of St. Peter's while chanting laudes.

When he reaches the top of the stairs, he approaches the pope surrounded by his bishops, cardinal priests and deacons, subdeacons, and ministers of the *scola cantorum*. After kissing the pope's feet, he rises to kiss the pope on his mouth. They embrace and kiss one another three times. Then, holding the right hand of the pope, and accompanied by joyful shouts from the people, he and the pope walk to the silver door. There the emperor makes his declaration (*ex libro professionem imperatoriam*) and is designated emperor by the pope. Again, he is kissed by the pope. The bishop of Lavicanus (Tusculum) then recites the first prayer, just as it was stated in the *Ordo*.⁶

They enter the basilica, and when they arrive at the porphyry rota they sit in seats placed there for them. The pope then declares that he will uphold the agreements over investitures arrived at in the previous negotiations, and calls upon the emperor to do the same. Accompanied by some bishops from Lombardy, the emperor departs with his bishops and princes to the area next to the *secretarium*. From this point on the proceedings break down. After long negotiations and prodding by the pope, the emperor and his entourage fail to ratify the negotiated documents. The pope conducts a mass, but along with his followers he is arrested by Henry, and carried away into captivity in the Sabina.

After the *Relatio* of Paschal, Pandulfus is the next most important papal source recounting these events.⁷ At the earliest he wrote at the end of

⁵ I am using the edition in Legum IV, pp. 147–150; see n. 1 for other sources.

⁶ For the bishop of Lavicanus see Duchesne's n. 20 in the life of Paschal II, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 307. Duchesne asserts that there was no difference between the bishop of Lavicanus and that of Tusculum.

⁷ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 300; Boso, *camerarius* from 1154–1179 under the reigns of Adrian IV and Alexander III, encloses letters to and from Paschal, and conciliar decrees in his life of Paschal, but says nothing about either coronation. *Ibid.*, 369.

1133, and was thus influenced by the intervening events, possibly including the coronation of Lothar III.⁸ He presents a bleak picture of Henry's arrival in Italy, describing how the German armies destroyed cities, camps and churches. He states that outside of Rome, Henry swore oaths, but that he perjured himself. Evaluating events as well as describing them, Pandulfus says that Henry did only what he had to do, acting not out of fear of God, but out of fear of man. When Henry approached the city, Pandulfus continues, leaders of the city came out to meet him and to make way for him, as they had been ordered. Dressed in their ceremonial robes, as was the custom, the minor clerics honorifically led him in a procession from the port of the city next to Castel St. Angelo to St. Peter's. There the clergy in higher orders—bishops, cardinal priests and deacons, subdeacons, and other orders—awaited him within the church with the pope. The *proceres*—judges, advocates, *scriniarii*, and all who were in the papal retinue—shouted out, "Heinricum regem sanctus Petrus elegit!"⁹

Before entering the church Henry took over its fortifications and the surrounding area, and gave hostages in return. Pandulfus does not describe the coronation ceremonies, but only the capture of Paschal. He emphasizes Henry's deceitfulness and brutality, comparing his treatment of Paschal to Christ's crucifixion. Although Pandulfus omits any mention of the coronation in April, he does relate Henry's return to Rome in 1117, and his wish to be crowned in St. Peter's.¹⁰ Paschal had fled the city, but his spokesmen responded to the emperor that only the pope or the fathers could crown him. Henry then importuned Mauritius, Archbishop of Braga, to crown him at the *confessio* of St. Gregory.¹¹

Pandulfus' account of the first coronation is distinguished by his report that the *proceres* cried out, "Heinricum regem sanctus Petrus elegit!" Did they really proclaim that Henry received his office from St. Peter, or was the laud the invention of the partisan cardinal, an attempt, perhaps, to equate the origin of imperial and papal authority by using the identical

⁸ Ibid., 318, n. 3.

⁹ Pandulfus notes that Paschal received the same laud at his election: "Paschalem papam sanctus Petrus elegit!" Ibid., 296; Kantorowicz calls attention to Henry's laud; *Laudes Regiae*, p. 125. The *Disputatio vel Defensio Paschalis Papae* also sees Henry as wickedly devious. LdL 2:658–666 at p. 666 for the coronation of February 4: "... ipse quidem rex usque ad atrium aecclisiae pacifice venit lupum portans sub ovina pelle, et osculatis pedibus domni pape, ipse ab eo amplexatus et tercio osculatus est, et mox in aecclisiam cum summis laudibus ductus, ipsum papam, ipsum capud nostrum cum episcopis, cardinalibus, clericis, cum omnibus fere nobilibus Romanorum de cathedra violenter eduxit et cepit et in captione artissima detinuit;"

¹⁰ Ibid., 303–304.

¹¹ Duchesne thinks that Henry and the archbishop did not dare to carry out the coronation at the *confessio* of St. Peter. Ibid., n. 50, p. 304.

expression to describe Paschal's election ("Paschalem papam sanctus Petrus elegit")? If the laud were shouted, it would not have been merely honorific, but a serious infringement of the imperial doctrine that the emperor was elected by the German princes and "a deo coronatus".¹²

But in February 1111 Paschal was in no position to make such grandiose claims, and the laud would simply have amounted to a brave face masking real weakness. The fact that Calixtus did not include it in *ordo C* shows that its implications were far too radical even for his much stronger reign. The emperors were still fiercely maintaining that their power came directly from God, and even Roger II of Sicily was depicted in a mosaic as being crowned by Christ.¹³ By the end of the century the emperors will begin to lose their battle with the popes for hegemony, but they were still too strong at the time of the composition of *ordo C* to tolerate the view that they were elected by St. Peter.¹⁴

The *Relatio* of Paschal says little about the actual coronation in April, concentrating instead upon the privilege extorted by Henry. It states that Henry handed the privilege to Paschal, who against all custom, received it from his hand.¹⁵ Revealing the state of tension surrounding the proceedings, the *Relatio* reports that all of the ports of the city of Rome were closed during the coronation to avoid violence. After receiving the crown, and with the mass completed, the emperor immediately departed for his camp. Now free, the pope, his bishops and cardinals entered the city of Rome to a jubilant reception.

¹² Kantorowicz believes that the laud really was shouted out, and that it constituted a conscious departure from the imperial doctrine that the emperor was crowned by God. He thinks that the *proceres* were proclaiming that like a cardinal, the emperor was created by St. Peter, i.e. the pope. The acclamation cannot be interpreted otherwise, he concludes, than that the emperor was dependent upon the pope for his authority. For Kantorowicz the laud represents a significant state in the switch from the "imperator papalis" to the "papa imperialis". *Laudes Regiae*, n. 104, p. 145.

¹³ In the Diet of Besançon in 1158 papal emissaries delivered a letter from the pope implying that the pope offered Frederick his empire as a fief. In his response to the German bishops Frederick stated that through election by the princes, the kingdom and the empire was his from God alone. MGH SS 20:425–427; Tierney, *The Crisis of Church & State*, p. 108; in the mosaic of Roger II in the church of the Martorana in Palermo Roger is represented as being crowned by Christ. The mosaic implies that Roger owed his crown to God alone, and not to any earthly power. It is the pictorial equivalent of the "a deo coronatus" formula. Ernst Kitzinger, "On the Portrait of Roger II in the Martorana in Palermo," *Proporzioni: studi di storia dell'arte* 3 (1943), p. 30.

¹⁴ The laudes of *ordo C* merely represent a transition from the old Franco-Roman formularies to the papalized imperial laudes of 1209. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, pp. 143–144, 242.

¹⁵ MGH Legum Sectio IV, p. 149: "Porro cum ibidem cartam ipsam rex accepisset, postmodum tamen cum in beati Petri ecclesiam pervenisset post corone acceptionem, eam ad manum pontificis retulit. Nec solum contra eius voluntatem, set etiam contra omnem consuetudinem de manu eius accepit." Also ed. *Lib. Cens.* 1, p. 413.

Although Henry surely emphasized the events of 1111, and gives his version of what happened in his encyclical, he neither describes the ceremony of February nor that of April.¹⁶ However, in his collection of constitutions and acts is a report on the coronation of April of unknown authorship, but arguably written by David, the Scottish bishop of Bangor, and a member of his entourage.¹⁷ It says that Henry was greeted with great joy upon his arrival into Rome. The pope and the whole clergy received him at the silver door with the prayer contained in the *ordo*. Then he was led to the middle rota, and after the second prayer, accompanied by litanies, he was conducted to the *confessio* of Sts. Peter and Paul. There he was anointed. Then the pope led him to the altar of the same apostles, where the pontiff crowned and consecrated him as emperor. Thereafter the Easter mass was celebrated. The report concludes with an account of the transmission of Paschal's concessions on investitures. It states that before communion during the mass, with both laymen and clerics witnessing, the pope with his own hand gave a privilege to the emperor, and confirmed what was written therein.

While admitting that David was more partial to the king than dedicated to historical accuracy, William of Malmesbury nevertheless draws on an account known to have been written by the Scottish bishop.¹⁸ Its first sections are similar to the report of unknown authorship included in Henry's collection. William states that on April 13 the pope and the king met at the columns in the forum. Bishops, cardinals, and the whole Roman clergy received the king at the silver door [of St. Peter's]. Since the bishop of Albano was not present, the bishop of Ostia recited the prayer designated in the *ordo*. The emperor was then led to the center of the middle rota, where the bishop of Porto recited the second prayer, just as the *Ordo Romanus* prescribed. To the sound of litanies he was next conducted to the *confessio* of the apostles, where the bishop of Ostia anointed him between his shoulders and on his right arm. After the unction the pope accompanied him to the altar of those same apostles. There the pope placed a crown on his head, and consecrated him as emperor. Thereafter, before communion during the celebration of the Easter mass, the pope presented a privilege to the emperor with his own hand, and confirmed it under pain of anathema.

After completion of the consecration the pope and the emperor proceeded with great pomp to the chamber before the *confessio* of St.

¹⁶ MGH Legum Sectio IV, pp. 150–151.

¹⁷ Ibid., 152; in the Codex Udalrici under the heading, *Diadem imperatorium quomodo Heinricus V acceperit, relatio caesarea*, Jaffé, *Bibliotheca* 5, p. 276. See n. 23 below & Chodorow, "The Crisis of 1111," n. 14, p. 9; n. 51, p. 22 for the role of David.

¹⁸ MGH SS 10:479–80.

Gregory, where the pope removed his *sacerdotalia*, and the emperor his *regalia*. At this point, William reports an incident recorded in no other source. He says that Roman patricians approached the emperor with a golden diadem, which they placed on his head. Through it, with the consent and will of all they conferred on him the highest patriciate of the city of Rome.

In the *Chronicle of Montecassino* Petrus Diaconus adds a few other embellishments to the reports of the ceremonies of April. He states that after the emperor and the pope had arrived at St. Peter's, and following the reception of the crown, Henry returned the charter to the pope. The pope received it from the emperor's hand not only against his will, Petrus says, but also against all custom. Later, in describing the mass, Petrus says that when the pope came to the breaking of the host, keeping part for himself, and passing on part to the emperor, Paschal said: "Sicut pars ista vivifici corporis divisa est, ita divisus sit a regno Christi et Dei, quicumque pactum istud dirumpere temptaverit." After the mass Petrus reports that Henry immediately departed for his camp, and the pope for the city. From that moment dissension and the threat of schism arose in the Roman church.¹⁹

Petrus also adds some tantalizing details to reports of the coronation ceremony of February. He describes the meeting at the porphyry rota, and Henry's retreat to discuss the charters over investiture with his bishops, including three from Lombardy, and his princes. Petrus says that desiring to deceive the pope about the true nature of the objections of his advisors to the proposals over investitures, Henry told Paschal that he wished that the discord between the pope and Stephanus Normannus would come to an end. Henry explained that the Roman noble's loyalty had caused him to sustain many dangers. Paschal responded that the greatest part of the day had already gone by, and that the office of that day would be drawn out. "Therefore", he said, "if it is suitable to you, the thing which from the first is of concern to you shall be implemented."

In his response Paschal seemed to be implying that he would make peace with Stephanus, but that there would not be time for the coronation. Petrus reports that immediately a member of Henry's entourage sprang to his feet and asked what Paschal meant by such words. "There is no doubt," he added, "that you know that our emperor wishes to receive the crown just as Charles, Pipin, and Louis did." When the pope said that he would not be able to carry out this wish, Petrus reports that Henry (*cesar*) became angry. Seduced by the counsel of Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz and Bishop Burchard of Münster, Petrus says that Henry did not

¹⁹ *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, MGH SS 34:509.

fear to surround the pope with armed militia. As the day declined some of the brothers said that the emperor should be crowned on the same day, and others on the following. Henry opposed the delay, and his militia took Paschal and the senior clergy into captivity.²⁰

Ekkehard of Aura is one of the most interesting sources, because his chronicle is dedicated to Henry V. David not only was his authority, but

²⁰ Ibid., 504–505: "Imperator interea cupiens suis assertionibus pontificem decipere ait: 'Discordiam, que inter te et Stephanum cognomento Normannum usque nunc fuit, volo ut iam finem accipiat.' Is enim Stephanus ob fidelitatem eius multa pericula sustinuerat. Ad hec papa: 'Die maxima ex parte preterit, et officium prolixum erit hodie, ideoque primitus, si placet, quod vestrum est, impleatur.' Unus autem ex his, qui cum imperatore venerant, confestim surgens in medium ait: 'Quid verbis opus est tantis? Indubie noveris dominum nostrum imperatorem ita velle accipere coronam, sicut illam Carolus, Pipinus ac Ludovicus sumpserunt.' Quod cum papa se id non posse implere dixisset, cesar iratus et seductus consilio Alberti archiepiscopi Maguntini et Burchardi episcopi Saxonum non veritus est eum suis armatis militibus circumdare, sed cum iam dies declinaret in vesperam, consultum a fratribus est, ut imperator eodem die coronaretur, ceterorum tractatus in sequentem ebdomadam differretur. Illi etiam hoc aversatis sunt. Inter hec tam pontifex quam omnes, qui cum eo erant, a militibus armatis custodiebantur."

Grimaldi (Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 105v) describes the rota, where he says Paschal was captured. "Rota porphyretica ante altare sanctissimi sacramenti, supra quam papa in coronatione imperatoris unam orationem dicebat, ut antiqui ceremoniales libri notant; et ad quam Paschalis 2 captus fuit a Caesarianis . . ." fol. 107r: "In hoc sacro vermiculato solo magnae rotae erant; meo tempore has notavi Tres amplae nobilissimae et integrae, quarum una fracta nunc est in novo pavimento ante sepulcrum Clementis VIII. . . . Ante Altare Sanctissimi Sacramenti rota porphyretica magna pulcherrima integra . . ." See also fol. 103v and the huge drawing of old St. Peter's, fig. 51. The drawing shows the rota between the altar of the most blessed sacrament and that of saints Simon and Juda. Grimaldi also appears to have the text of Petrus Diaconus, or the common source used by both. fol. 105v: "Cum ad haec et alia illis apostolica et canonica capitula obicerentur, illi tamen in dolositate sua et pertinacia permanebant. Inter ea imperator cupiens pontificem suis assertionibus fallere, 'Volo'—inquit—'ut discordia quae inter te et Stephanum cognomento Northmannum hactenus fuit iam finem accipiat.' Multa enim imperatoris gratia pericula Stephanus ipse subierat. Ad haec pontifex: 'Dies'—inquit—'magna ex parte praeterit officiumque prolixum erit hodie; ideoque si placet quod vestrum est prius impleatur.'"

The heritage to Stephanus Normannus is mysterious, for he seems to have been a loyal supporter of Paschal. For example, when Paschal fled Rome in 1118, he placed Stephanus in charge: "Princeps et clipeus omnium pariter curialium Stephanus Normannus." *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 317. Stephanus was one of the leaders, who came to the defense of Gelasius II after he had been attacked by the Frangipani following his election. *Lib. Pont. Dert.*, p. 169: "Facta autem hac uoce conuenit multitudo Romana: Petrus prefectus Urbis, Petrus Leonis cum suis, Stephanus Normannus cum suis . . ." Returning to Rome after he had been forced to flee, Gelasius found succor with the Normanni. "Latuit domnus papa melius quam hospitatus sit in ecclesiola quadam quae sancte Marie in Secundocereo dicitur intra domos illustrium uirorum Stephani Normanni, Pandulfi fratris eius et Petri Latronis Cursorum." Ibid., 174. When the Frangipani attacked Gelasius in San Pancrazio, Stephanus was the leader of those who came to the pope's defense. Believing that the pope had fled, Stephanus said to the Frangipani: "'Quid,' inquiens, 'facitis? quo ruitis? Papa quem queritis iam fuga elapsus est. Numquid et nos perdere cupitis? Et quidem romani sumus, similes uobis et si dici liceat consanguinei uestri. Recedite rogo, recedite, ut et nos fessi pariter recedamus.'" Ibid., 174–175.

Pandulfus could not have waxed more eloquently than when he stated upon Gelasius' departure into exile in France: "Princeps et clipeus omnium pariter curialium, Stephanus Normannus, collaudantibus omnibus, protector ac uexillifer in Dei Patris nomine nimis efficaciter ordinatur et ad Urbis custodiam cum iam dictis aptatur." Ibid., 176. Stephanus was among the Roman nobles, who greeted Calixtus II upon his arrival in Rome in 1120, and he

probably was the actual author of the chronicle.²¹ The chronicle recounts the negotiations at Sutri, and asserts that although Henry was willing to agree to the papal proposals, he could only sign the treaty if it met with the approval of the whole church and the princes of the kingdom. The king said that he doubted that they would agree. The chronicle then describes Henry's magnificent reception into Rome on the day in February on which he was to be crowned. Less specific than other sources, he mentions the entry into St. Peter's through the silver door, and the procession to the middle rota ("antiquo Romanorum instituto deductus"). There, after the privileges were publicly read, the chronicle relates that the princes, who stood to lose from the spoliation of the churches when they returned their *regalia* to the emperor, raised a gigantic uproar. The princes and bishops of the king tried to force the pope to crown Henry in spite of the lack of agreement, but during the night, the Romans organized an attack to save the pope, and Henry was forced to respond. He captured the pope and carried him into captivity. Ekkehard's chronicle is more specific about the second coronation. It reports that Henry was both anointed with chrism and crowned before the confession of St. Peter. It adds that this was the report of eye witnesses, but that there were some who felt otherwise. It then mentions the privilege, which Paschal handed to Henry, and which the pope later confirmed under pain of anathema.²²

B. THE GLOBE

A manuscript of Ekkehard's chronicle found in the belongings of Henry's wife, Mathilda, when she returned to England after the death of her husband contains an illustration from the coronation ceremonies

continued to enjoy the confidence of the pope. Calixtus appointed him as one of the negotiating partners in the dispute between Pisa and Genoa in 1121. Thus, Stephanus had a long and consistent history of supporting the popes. One explanation for Henry's plea might lie in the fact that the sister of Stephanus was married to Iohannus Frangipani, father of Cencius. See Eva Tea, "La Rocca dei Frangipani alla Velia," *Archivio della R. Società di Storia Patria* 44 (1921), 235–255 at p. 240. Since the Frangipani were frequently imperial supporters, and most notably so during the reign of Gelasius, Stephanus could have supported Henry in a cause which Paschal opposed. Nevertheless, Henry's alleged statement that the Roman noble suffered on his behalf remains unexplained.

²¹ See n. 23 below.

²² MGH SS 6:244; Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, pp. 48–49; the *Annales Hildesheimenses* add interesting political details, but little about the ceremony itself. Ibid., 60–61. In a section on the coronations of 1111 in the *Liber Floridus*, Lambert of St. Omer states what Paschal reputedly said to Henry: "Haec sunt verba quae dixit dominus apostolicus domino imperatori Henrico in communione corporis et sanguinis Christi die coronationis suae: Domine imperator Henrice, corpus Domini, natum ex Maria Virgine, passum in cruce pro nobis sicut sancta catholica tenet ecclesia damus tibi in confirmationem uere pacis et concordie inter me et te. Amen." ed. Derolez, p. 217.

(plate 17).²³ It shows Paschal in the process of giving Henry the orb or globe signifying world rule.²⁴ Neither the chronicle nor any other narrative account mentions such a ceremony, nor, indeed, do any of the *ordines* which might have been followed. Even though the ritual may never have been performed, its depiction would represent an imperial view of the relationship between pope and emperor. The most outstanding feature of the miniature is its portrayal of equality between the two

²³ The manuscript is now at Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 373, fol. 83r. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* 2, pt. 2, pp. 215–218. See ch. 2, n. 52 above; Irene Schmale-Ott argues that this manuscript was not the autograph of Ekkehard, and speculates that David, the Scottish bishop, who was the director of the Würzburg cathedral school, and who entered Henry's service in 1110 might have written it. A possible scenario, she says, is that after David's tasks for the expedition to Rome in 1110–1111 had ended, Henry V assigned him to write the imperial chronicle, which he hoped would be ready for his wedding day. She believes that there was some connection between Ekkehard and David, who presented the work as Ekkehard's, starting with the continuation of Siebert, and reaching to the beginning of 1113. She is not sure whether Ekkehard even saw this work. "Die Rezension C der Weltchronik Ekkehards," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 12 (1956), 363–387, esp. pp. 379–387.

The implication of Schmale-Ott's thesis is that the illustrations were drawn under the direction of David rather than Ekkehard. At the right side of the drawing is printed *Henricus quintus*. James describes it as following: "Under an arch with battlemented gable, and turrets above. The Emperor on L. holding sceptre and wearing diadem receives orb from an archbishop in close-fitting mitre (like skull-cap), red chasuble, pall with green crosses, stole, tunicle, alb with long staff. Both stand." Schramm and Mutherich contend that the second figure is Paschal II, not an archbishop. Schramm/Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, pp. 178, 403; Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*, new ed. Mutherich (Munich, 1983), p. 250 & tav. 184; Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 1, p. 244.

The *Storie de Troja et de Roma otherwise called Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, ed. Monaci also has several illustrations of the globe. The figure of "Roma caput mundi" (p. LIII) holds a globe in her left hand and a palm frond in her right, symbols going back to the reign of Conrad I, and used by succeeding emperors. A globe was found among Lothar III's grave goods, and one appears on a Roman gonfalone from the time of Cola de Rienzo.

Another illustration on p. LVI shows Ecclesia Romana as a woman standing and dressed in the Byzantine style. She has a halo, but no crown, and holds a globe, *mundus*, in her right hand. Kneeling on the globe, in place of Victoria an angel holds an orifiamma signifying the *triumphus clericorum*. The twelfth-century *Liber Floridus* contains a portrait of Augustus holding a sword and a tripartite globe of the world—Asia, Europa, Africa; ed. Derolez, p. 280. See also Percy Ernst Schramm, *Spbaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958), pp. 84–85 & n. 1 and ch. 1, ns. 46, 50, 53, 54 above.

²⁴ According to Schramm (*Spbaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, pp. 76–95) the first imperial coronation where written sources indicate that the orb was used was the coronation of Henry VI in 1191. Contrary to Schramm, Josef Deér believes that the orb belonged to the insignia of Roman, Byzantine and Western emperors in unbroken tradition. "Der Globus des spätromischen und des byzantinischen Kaisers. Symbol oder Insigne?" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 54 (1961), 53–85, 291–318. He says (p. 54) that the original sense of the globe was world rule, and that as *Herrschaftszeichen* it was first used in the coronation of Henry II in 1014 (p. 57). The *Reichsapfel* symbolizing the Christian cosmos was an orb crowned by a cross. *Historiarum Libri V*, written in 1045 over Henry II's coronation in 1014 by Rodolf Glaber, describes Benedict's instructions on how the *aureum pomum* was to be made, and what its significance was (pp. 312–313). See also the review of Schramm, Hermann Fillitz, *Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 67 (1959), 380–382; Gerhart Ladner's review of Fillitz' *Die Schatzkammer in Wien: Symbole abendländischen Kaisertums* (Salzburg & Vienna, 1986), *Speculum* 63 (1988), 916–922.

figures. Both are shaven, and are standing on the same level with coverings on their heads. Paschal's headdress could be a camelaucum, mitre or very low tiara, and Henry's appears to be a diadem. Henry holds a scepter, and Paschal a staff.

Apart from the symmetry of the imagery, the explanation of the significance of the transmission of the globe remains a mystery.²⁵ At the beginning of the thirteenth century Innocent III would associate the investiture of the empire in the coronation ceremony of Henry VI with the granting of the "golden ball".²⁶ However, in the first part of the twelfth century Honorius Augustodunensis, who listed all of the *Herrschaftszeichen*, did not even mention it.²⁷ If the globe had symbolized that the *imperium* belonged *principaliter et finaliter* to the papacy, as Innocent III would claim, Honorius as a champion of papal authority would have emphasized it.²⁸

Quite probably the scene in the miniature is based upon the views expressed by Benzo of Alba, a staunch supporter of Henry IV.²⁹ Benzo asserted that the emperor carried the golden apple in processions as a symbol of his rule of the kingdoms. As an imperial advocate Benzo would never have accepted the principle that the pope held this power, and that he invested the emperor with it. To the miniator of Ekkehard's chronicle the passing of the globe would have fallen under the same rubric as the placing of the crown on the emperor's head. Both the globe and the crown were part of the imperial insignia, but their transmission by the pope did not imply that the empire belonged "principally and finally" to the papacy.

²⁵ Schramm speculates that the miniator depicted the transmission of the globe because it was a theme, which could be portrayed in the confined space allotted.

²⁶ Friedrich Kempf, *Regestum Innocentii III. papae super negotio Romani imperii* (Rome, 1945), pp. 75–76: "Finaliter quoniam imperator a summo pontifice finalem sive ultimam manus impositionem promotionis proprie accipit, dum ab eo benedicitur, coronatur et de imperio investitur. Quod Henricus optime recognoscens a bone memorie Celestino papa predecessore nostre, post susceptam ab eo coronam cum aliquantulum abscessisset, rediens tandem se ab ipso de imperio per pallam auream petit investiri." Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, p. 92 & n. 1.

²⁷ PL 172:612; Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, p. 83.

²⁸ Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, p. 93.

²⁹ In his coronation *ordo* based upon the Salian *ordo* Benzo of Alba describes how the emperor should appear in processions. MGH SS 11: 602–603:

Portans in sinistra aureum pomum,
Quod significat monarchiam regnorum,
In dextera vero sceptrum imperii
De more Iulii, Octaviani et Tiberii . . .

C. THE PRIVILEGE

The ceremonies of February 1111 appear to have followed both *ordo* B and custom. The meeting between Paschal and Henry at the middle rota, however, must have been improvised to suit the circumstances. Paschal had not anticipated that it would be the occasion for further negotiations, but had simply fashioned the ceremony for signing the agreements. Calixtus probably liked the idea of the meeting on the porphyry rota, which radiated the imperial aura of the papacy, and he converted the procedure of 1111 into the *scrutinium*. In the likeness of a bishop, the emperor would have to prove himself worthy to the pope before he could be crowned.

Again, in the coronation of April there was an improvisation—the handing over of the papal privilege on investitures. The transition took place at a particularly sacred point in the ceremony—after communion during the mass. The format of the ceremony suggests that it was planned by Henry rather than by Paschal, for, by preceding the mass with the coronation, the coronation took priority. By contrast, by requiring Paschal to transmit the privilege on investitures during the mass, the concession took on a sacral character, which would make it more difficult to renounce.³⁰ Moreover, it was granted both to the emperor and to his kingdom. To some it may have appeared to be similar to the Donation of Constantine, but in reverse. In this case it was the pope granting rights to the emperor, and the imagery would have been the opposite of that of Calixtus and Henry in the *scabellum* frescoes. Petrus Diaconus' cry of outrage reflected the danger that the church sensed in this solemn procedure. It had no applicability to a future *ordo*, but when Calixtus worked out his own agreement over investitures in the Concordat of Worms, he blurred the duration of his concessions by granting them to Henry alone.

In 1111 as Archbishop of Vienne in the imperial Kingdom of Burgundy, the future Calixtus was acutely aware of the ramifications of the indignities suffered by the papacy in the coronation ceremonies of February and April. He was already a seasoned warrior in the battle between

³⁰ Speaking of *ordo* C, Kantorowicz (*Laudes Regiae*, p. 143) says that the insertion of the imperial coronation in the mass shows that the priestly essence still resided in the emperor's office. The waning of this conception began during the church reform, he believes, and ceased by the reign of Innocent III, when the coronation was performed before the mass. Henry, however, may have wanted the coronation to be performed before the mass to emphasize the secular character of the empire and its independence from ecclesiastical authority. The dressing of the emperor elect in clerical garb in *ordo* C could then have been an attempt to accentuate the subjection of the emperor to the church. In any case, Henry must not have concluded that coronation before the mass detracted from its spiritual value, for he was in a position to avoid any diminution of his dignity.

regnum and *sacerdotium*, and could not see the papacy from the perspective of a Gregory of Catino, the contemporary chronicler of Farfa.³¹ Gregory believed that the aggressive behavior of Gregory VII and Paschal toward the empire was totally unjustified, and that Christians were ill served by popes who incited hate against the emperor instead of devoting themselves to the salvation of their flock. For Gregory it was altogether understandable that Henry would insist on being crowned even if his bishops and princes refused to agree to the provisions of Sutri. Without right Gregory VII had deposed Henry's father, Gregory argued, and Henry had cause to reassert the prerogatives of the emperor.

Like Gregory of Catino, Guy was a partisan. To him it was not enough that after Paschal's release from captivity the pope declared his privilege to the emperor to be null and void because it had been extorted by force. The honor of the papacy demanded that Paschal break his vow not to excommunicate Henry. To force the reluctant pope to take this step, Guy called a council at Vienne, but fearing a schism if he went back on his word, Paschal stood his ground.

Unlike Paschal, when Guy became pope he did not have to worry about creating a schism, for one already existed. Thus, he had little to lose by excommunicating Henry at the Council of Rheims in 1119 after negotiations over investitures had broken down. Two years later after having captured Burdinus, and after having established his own authority, he could work out an agreement with the emperor over investitures from a position of strength. But the stain on the honor of the papacy left by the coronations of 1111 remained. Now Calixtus had the power not only to remove it, but also to reset the balance between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* by modifying the imperial coronation ceremony. The new *ordo* diverged sharply from *ordo B*, which contained no ritual indicating that through consecration and coronation the emperor becomes the servant or the creation of the church. In *ordo C* the emperor becomes dependent upon the church, and is entitled "emperor" only after the coronation.³²

Henry was to die in 1125, and since his last act was to designate his successor, he may have had a premonition of the approaching end. For

³¹ For a learned and dignified defense of the imperial position see *Gregorii Catinensis Monachi Farfensis Orthodoxa Defensio imperialis*, ed. Lotharius de Heinemann, MGH LdL 2:534–542. The argument is divided into two sections: the rights of the king over investitures; the invalidity of Gregory VII's deposition of Henry IV. Gregory of Catino emphasized that through investitures the emperor exerted no claims over the ecclesiastical office but only over the possession of secular perquisites. See also Ildefons Schuster, *L'imperiale abbazia di Farfa: Contributo allo studio del ducato romano nel Medio Evo* (Rome, 1921), pp. 252–253.

³² Haller, "Die Formen der Deutsche-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," pp. 62–63: "Die Zutaten von Ia lassen keinen Zweifel mehr bestehen, der Kaiser empfängt seine Würde aus der Hand des Papstes, erst durch die Krönung wird er Kaiser."

Calixtus a new coronation ceremony establishing his conception of the emperorship would have been timely. The church in Germany was already positioning itself to exert more influence in selecting the emperor, and when Henry died, they would reject his designated successor and tip the scales in favor of the more amenable Lothar III of Saxony. The prospect of a more tractable emperor, and a coronation reflecting the new papal strength, would continue the improvement of the fortunes of the papacy, which had declined so precipitously during the reigns of Paschal and Gelasius. As it turned out, the *ordo* almost certainly was never used, for Calixtus was to die slightly before Henry (December, 1124), and in 1133 Lothar would have to be crowned at the Lateran basilica, because Anaclet controlled St. Peter's and most of Rome. Since Frederick I's coronation in 1155 likewise had to be improvised, the first time that the *ordo* could have been used was at the end of the century, and by that time it had already been superseded by the ideology of succeeding popes.

D. THE PATRICIATE

Since only David (through William of Malmesbury) reported that in 1111 the Romans crowned Henry as the highest patrician in Rome, there is no confirmation of his assertion. Nevertheless, because the tradition had been revived so recently, and because the coronation would have tightened the alliance between Henry and his Roman allies, the probability is high that David reported accurately.

Had the coronation as patrician been incorporated into an official *ordo* or enshrined in the coronation customs, it would have forced the pope to do one of the things that he had tried most to avoid—to share power in Rome with the emperor.³³ Even more threatening to the papacy, as the evolution of the office shows, the coronation with the golden diadem would probably have been understood to impart imperial authority over papal elections.³⁴

³³ Brian Tierney states: "The specific political issue that divided empire and papacy in the twelfth century was the emperor's claim to sovereignty over Italy in general and over Rome in particular. It seemed to the popes that an emperor who established effective power in Rome itself would inevitably reassume control over papal appointments, and they were determined at all costs to prevent such a development." *The Crisis of Church & State*, p. 98.

³⁴ Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, new ed. Gerhard Seeliger 6 (Berlin, 1896), pp. 252–258. The theory of Benzo of Alba, a partisan of Henry IV, goes as follows: After his baptism Constantine established a *patricius* in Rome for the protection of the state. The *patricius* was to defend the church, and to represent the emperor in papal elections when the emperor was absent. MGH SS 11:670; Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Renotatio*, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1929), p. 234–235. Schramm says that Benzo argued that the *patricius* should act in the emperor's absence and serve as the administrator for the business of the state. *Benzonis Episcopis Albensis ad Heinricum IV. imperatori*, MGH SS

The emperor, pope, and Romans all vied for this office, and its changing history made it possible for each of them to fabricate a theory to justify its claims, and to substantiate it with historical arguments.³⁵ Stephen III granted Pipin and his sons the title of *patricius Romanorum*, a title hitherto born by the exarch.³⁶ Quite likely the leading Roman citizens, who accompanied Stephen to France to bequeath the title, had participated in the decision. Henceforth the title took on a renewed importance, especially because it had been the duty of the exarch to superintend papal elections and to act as the advocate of the church.

Pipin never used the title, but in a document of 774 Charlemagne referred to himself as *Patricius Romanorum, Defensor Ecclesiae*.³⁷ It was not a frivolous gesture, but was directed toward exercising his jurisdiction over Rome. Twice when he came to Rome, at the request of Adrian I, and then of Leo III, he abandoned his Frankish attire and dressed as a *patricius*. Wearing a long tunic, chlamys and Roman shoes, he is portrayed standing between his two chancellors.³⁸

The title again slipped into desuetude until the tenth century when the Crescentii claimed that they received the office from the pope. Their

11:597–681 at p. 670: "Ea de causa reliquit Romae suum patricium ad custodiendam rem publicam, et de manu papae accipiens apocrissarium, voluit ut esset Constantinopoli ob disciplinam aecclesiasticam;" On p. 671 Benzo reports that Henry III held a council with notable Roman bishops and laymen in Rome on December 24, 1046. The council responded to Henry: "Et si forte aliquociens absens estis, tamen per officium patricii, qui est vester vicarius, semper apostolicae promociioni interestis. Neque enim patricius est papae patricius, verum ad procuranda rei publicae negotia est imperatoris patricius". . . . Inito proinde consilio, approbante sacra synodo, [etc . . .] decretum est ut rex Heinricus cum universis in monarchia imperii sibi succedentibus fieret patricius, sicuti de Karolo factum legibus. . . . Indutus igitur rex viridissima clamide, desponsatur patriciali anulo, coronatur eiusdem prelature aureo circulo." In the imperial coronation *ordo* he composed using the "Salian *ordo*" as a basis, Benzo states that at the end of the first day of coronation ceremonies "revestit se imperator viridissima clamide, cum nivea mitra, cui superponit patricialem circumulum, et sic itur ad vesperum." *ibid.* 603; Schramm, "Der 'Salische Kaiserordo' und Benzo von Alba," p. 402. Benzo does not indicate whether the Romans or the pope had previously crowned the emperor with his *patricialem circumulum*.

³⁵ Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom, und Renovatio*, pp. 63, 233–234. Schramm says that Henry III obviously did not want to see himself as the successor of the Crescentii, who had previously held the office, but had a higher goal when he decided to accept the patriciate from the Romans. Schramm says that it was more important what Henry conceived the office to be. The patriciate of 1046 emerged out of a coming together of the Romans and the emperor—two disparate parties. The Romans had their conception of the office, to which the emperor partially accommodated himself, but he also had his own conception. Ferdinand Gregorovius asserts that from the eleventh century on the patriciate had world-wide importance. He says that it invested the German king, who snatched it from the Roman nobility, with power over the city and the right of nomination to the papacy. To gain her independence the church had to throw off the yoke of the *patricius*. *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, tr. Annie Hamilton, 4:1 (New York, 1967), p. 3.

³⁶ Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* 2, pp. 283–284.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 285 & n. 1; 470 & n. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 471 & n. 1; In the mosaic Leo III commissioned for the triclinium in the Lateran palace, Charlemagne wears only a short tunic and leggings. Barb. Lat. 2738, fol. 104r.

power ended when Otto III reinstated imperial authority in Rome, and thereafter the Ottonians took over the office with the implication that it was hereditary.³⁹ By the mid-eleventh century the Roman nobility had again usurped the office, using it as a means to exercise the highest power in the city, and to control the papacy. As the empire became stronger under Henry III, the emperor assumed the dignity for the first time in half a century. At the bidding of the Romans, after the imperial coronation he received the golden diadem, the green chlamys, and a ring as insignia of his civic authority, and also the "ordinationem pontificum".⁴⁰ Leo, the learned author of one section of the *Chronicle of Montecassino*, implies that the Romans alone conferred this honor on Henry on Christmas Day, 1046.⁴¹ Henry was then styled "rex Francorum et patritius Romanorum."

Both Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, and Petrus Damiani believed that the patriciate incorporated authority over papal elections.⁴² The *Annales*

³⁹ *Historia Mauriniacensis*, MGH SS 26:38: "Erat autem inter summum sacerdotem et regem Teutonicorum, qui per Karoli Magni regis Francorum successionem patricius Romanorum erat, gravissima et inveterata de investituris pontificum et abbatum dissensio, quae per quadraginta et eo amplius annos Romanam sedem turbaverat et omnes ferme totius Latinitatis ecclesias fatigaverat." See the history of the office under both papal and imperial authority, Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, pp. 59–63.

⁴⁰ *Annales Romani, Lib. Pont. 2*, p. 332: "Itaque serenissimus princeps (sic), cernens Romanorum omnium voluntatem, circulum, quod ab antiquitus Romani coronabant patricios, cum omnium voluntatem sicut imperatori decreverant, in capite posuit suo. Et ordinationem pontificum ei concesserunt . . . almus pontifex una cum Romanis et religiosis patribus, sicut sanctus Adrianus papa et alii pontifices confirmaverunt per privilegii detestationem, sic per privilegii detestationem in potestate regis H. qui in praesentia habetur et futurorum regum, patriciatum et cetera ut supra dictum est sancivit, confirmavit et posuit." See Gregorovius, *City of Rome* 4:1, p. 64 & n. 1 for other sources.

⁴¹ MGH SS 34:322: "Tunc temporis eidem Heinricho patricatus honorem Romani contribuerunt, eumque preter imperialem coronam aureo circulo uti decerunt." Schramm argues that Henry allowed the Romans to hand over the patriciate in support of the renewal of the claim that no pope could be raised to the throne without imperial approval. The claim had fallen into disuse in the last decades, and to renew it, he needed a new legal title. He found it in "Patricius Romanorum". *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, p. 236. Benzo records a dialogue between Henry III and Roman spokesmen on the second day (December 24) of the synod at St. Peter's in 1046. Following this exchange Henry presented Bishop Swidger of Bamberg, whom the Romans elected as pope Clement II on Christmas Day. MGH SS 11:670–671; tr. Gregorovius, *City of Rome*, 4:1, p. 56: "Henry: 'Senior Romans, however thoughtless your conduct may hitherto have been, I still accord you the liberty to elect a pope according to ancient custom; choose from amongst this assembly whom you will.' Romans: 'When the royal majesty is present, the assent to the election does not belong to us, and when it is absent, you are represented by your Patricius. For in the affairs of the republic the Patricius is not Patricius of the pope but of the emperor.'" See n. 34 above.

⁴² *Petri Damiani Disceptio Synodalis*, LdL 1:76–94 at p. 80: "Verumtamen tu hoc negare non potes, quod pater domini mei regis pia memoriae Heinrichus imperator factus est patricius Romanorum, a quibus etiam accepit in electione semper ordinandi pontificis principatum. Huc accedit, quod prestantius est, quia Nicolaus papa hoc domino meo regi privilegium, quod ex paterno iam iure successerat, prebuit et per synodalis insuper decreti paginam confirmavit." Waitz says that not all historians believe that this act empowered the king to exercise influence over the papal election. *Verfassungsgeschichte* 6, n. 3, p. 254. Schramm, by contrast states that the reinstatement of the office to Henry III, and its

Bertholdi of 1061 appear to indicate that young King Henry IV was granted this authority in the Council of Basel. After the Romans had sent the insignia, he received the patriciate totally independently of the imperial crown. With the consent of the council the king then appointed the Bishop of Parma as pope.⁴³ In concert with the German bishops, on January 24, 1076 at the Council of Worms Henry pronounced Gregory VII deposed. A council of Lombard nobles and bishops summoned to Piacenza confirmed Henry's decree. The decrees were carried to Rome, and Henry in his capacity as patrician addressed a proclamation to the Romans urging them to elect a new pope.⁴⁴

About the second decade before the twelfth century the office of the *patricius* was given a new twist. In Ravenna a group of *iurisprudentes* steeped in Roman law were becoming vocal in promoting imperial authority. Petrus Crassus was among the first of these lawyers, and Irnerius the most famous. Irnerius and some of his colleagues would later play a vital role in arguing for the illegality of the election of Gelasius, thus opening the way for the election of Gregory VIII or Burdinus. In this period they were responsible for four notable forgeries justifying imperial intervention in papal elections.⁴⁵ The most important text dealing with the patriciate was the *privilegium maius* attributed to Leo VIII. According to the forgery Leo asserted that the Roman people had no rights in the elections of the *patricius*, the king or the pope. Since they had transferred their rights and power to the emperor, only the emperor had these prerogatives.⁴⁶ The false decree of Adrian I concerning investitures makes the same point. Since it was difficult for the Roman people to gather together and to speak as one, they had conceded their rights and power to the emperor. To this decree of Roman law Adrian added that the clergy and people had transferred their right and power of

transmission to Henry IV was very important because it embodied the right to influence the papal election. *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, p. 229.

⁴³ Bertholdi, *Annales*, MGH SS 5:271: Anno 1061 "Romae Nicolao papa defuncto, Romani coronam et alia munera Heinrico regi transmiserunt, eumque pro eligendo summo pontifice interpellaverunt. Qui ad se convocatis omnibus Italiae episcopis, generalique conventu Basileae habito, eadem imposita corona patritius Romanorum appellatus est. Deinde cum communi consilio omnium Parmensem episcopum, multis praemiis quibusdam ut aiunt datis, symoniace summum Romanae aecclesiae elegit pontificem."

⁴⁴ Gregorovius, *City of Rome*, 4.1, p. 198.

⁴⁵ Eugenio Dupré Theseider, *L'Idea Imperiale di Roma nella Tradizione del Medioevo* (Milan, 1942), pp. 110–111.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 119. From the false "Privilegium Maius" of Leo VIII: "Sic ergo populus Romanus, postquam se suo iure privarunt, nunquam illud omnino repetere possunt. Ideoque neque usum electionis apostolice sedis neque patriciatu vel regie potestatis eos expetere posse decrevimus, sed solus rex Romani imperii summe sedis apostolice pontificem eligendi ad ordinandi facultatem sanctimus et per nostram apostolicam statuimus auctoritatem;"

electing popes and ordering the apostolic see to Charlemagne. At the same time they had conceded to him the dignity of the *patriciatu*s.⁴⁷

Given the campaign of the lawyers and precedents as recent as the reign of his father, Henry's coronation with the golden diadem in 1111 would almost certainly have been interpreted as imparting authority over papal elections. Pladicus of Nonantola seems to have sensed the danger. Writing at the end of 1111, the zealous ecclesiastical reformer tried to dispel the view that the Romans had the right to crown the emperor with the golden diadem. In his *Liber de Honore Ecclesiae* he extolled Charlemagne as a paradigm for other emperors to emulate, and he noted that it was the pope who made him *patritium Romanum*.⁴⁸ Placidus' tract may specifically have been written in reaction to the events in 1111, and it suggests that David's account that the Romans crowned Henry with the golden diadem was correct. Historical events support this hypothesis.

In 1111 the Romans were already restive. Between October 1105 and May 1106 the Corsi had revolted against Paschal in retribution for the destruction of their castle, and while Paschal was traveling in the North in 1106–1107, they raised another revolt against him. Many noble families defected, and the Sabina passed from papal to imperial jurisdiction. In 1108 Paschal summoned a synod, in which he excommunicated many of the leaders. Aided by Richard, duke of Gaeta, he was able to reenter Rome, and to defeat the Corsi. But his opponents remained rebellious, and put their hope in Henry's arrival in Rome. Emissaries which Henry sent to Rome to begin negotiations with Paschal over his coronation returned with a positive response from the pope, but also with a letter from the dissidents requesting that he restore order with the Roman see and the republic.⁴⁹ In 1116 they would have the strength to reject Paschal's candidate for the prefecture, Huguccio Pierleoni. Forcing Paschal to flee

⁴⁷ Ibid., 119: "Ad hoc quoque exemplum prefatur Adrianus papa cum omni clero et populo et universa sancta synodo tradidit Karolo augusto omne suum ius et potestatem eligendi pontificem et ordinandi apostolicam sedem, dignitatem quoque patriciatu similiter ei concessit."

⁴⁸ *Placidi Monachi Nonantulani Liber de Honore Ecclesiae*, ed. Heinemann & Sacker, LdL 2:566–636, at p. 595: LXIII. *Exemplum obedientiae Karoli imperatoris*. . . . Quem sanctus papa patritium Romanum instituit, et sic demum, ut dicitur, succedentibus prosperis imperator etiam Romanorum levatur." Showing another shift in the office Jordan Pierleoni will be given the title of *patricius* in 1143 as the head of the Roman commune in opposition to papal rule. The title was abolished shortly thereafter. Pietro Fedele, "Le Famiglie di Anaclet II ed Gelasio II," pt. I. "La Famiglia di Anacleto II," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di storia Patria* 27 (1904), 400–433 at p. 425. The letter of the Senate to Conrad III in 1149 states that the other sons of Pierleoni attacked the commune, but that Jordan defended it. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*, Liber I, MGH SS 20:367: "Fraiapanes et filii Petri Leonis, homines et amici Siculi, excepto Iordano nostro in vestra fidelitate vexillifero et adiutore, Tolomeus quoque et alii plures undique nos impugnant, ne libere, ut decet, imperialem regio capit; valeamus imponere coronam."

⁴⁹ *Lib. Pont.* 2, pp. 298–300; Schuster, *L'imperiale abbazia di Farfa*, pp. 250–251.

the city, they ultimately prevailed upon him to accept their own candidate.⁵⁰

Paschal returned to the city, and the rebels, fearing reprisals, asked Henry to come to their aid. Happy to comply, he arrived in May 1117, and was greeted by Berald, the abbot of Farfa, Tolomeus, and John Frangipani.⁵¹ Paschal again fled the city, returning in January 1118 only to die on the point of retaking St. Peter's, which Tolomeus was defending. Henry hurried back to Rome, arriving only a few days after the election of Gelasius II. The new pope quickly fled to the South, and Henry gathered together a council in St. Peter's. Landulph of Sancto Paulo presents a fascinating account of this meeting in the *Historia Mediolanensis*.⁵² Even though Landulph does not specifically state that Henry's participation devolved from his authority as *patricius*, nevertheless his actions were so similar to those of his father in the Council of Basel that it is difficult to escape this conclusion.

The account goes as follows. On March 8 the emperor conferred with the Romans—lay and clerical—about what should be done about the election of Gelasius. The Romans violently objected to a rumor relayed by Henry's legates that Gelasius planned to move the papacy from Rome to Milan or Cremona the following September. They agreed that according to the authority of the laws and the canons they ought to elect a good and prudent pope. After the famous lawyer, Guarnerius (Irnerius) of Bologna, and other legal experts had advised them, they selected Mauritius of Braga as their candidate. Landulph describes this Spanish bishop of French origin as being present with the emperor, and we remember him from his coronation of Henry in St. Peter's after Paschal had refused to crown the emperor or to authorize one of the church fathers to do so. Landulph says that Henry then led the man who was obviously his choice to the pulpit. There, after the people had responded "Volumus" to the question, "Vultis dominum Mauritium in papam?", Mauritius was confirmed as Pope Gregory. Henry then "brought forth this Gregory as his pope", and conducted him through the castel San Angelo to the Lateran Palace. On the next day (March 9) Gregory VIII received Henry at the palace, and they then returned together to St. Peter's for further ceremonies.

The character of Henry's actions reinforces the conclusion that both he and his father were exercising their rights as *patricii* in their respective councils. Whether Lothar was seen as possessing these rights is not clear.

⁵⁰ *Lib Pont.* 2, pp. 301–303.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 303; Schuster, *L'Imperiale Abbazia di Farfa*, p. 254.

⁵² *Historia Mediolanensis Landulfi de Sancto Paulo*, MGH SS 20:40.

Although in 1130 he was neither crowned with the golden diadem nor with the imperial crown, Anaclet nevertheless repeatedly asked him to arbitrate the disputed papal elections. In his struggle to be recognized as pope, Anaclet might have assumed that as the emperor-elect, Lothar, like his Salian predecessors, at least possessed the potential authority of a *patricius*. In like manner, the *Chronica Mauriniacensis* might have been speaking somewhat loosely when it stated that after the Council of Etampes "statutum est in curia, hinc ad patricium Romanorum Teutonicorum regem [Lothar] iter dirigere".⁵³ According to Petrus Diaconus Lothar was crowned with the golden diadem much later in 1137 at San Germano after he and a large number of lay and ecclesiastical prelates had deposed Raynald as abbot of Montecassino.⁵⁴ The ceremony appears to show that the coronation was still a constitutive act, and its performance at that time might have been particularly calculated. Lothar and Innocent were in the midst of a heated dispute concerning their respective rights over Montecassino, and the coronation would have been one means of strengthening the emperor's hand.

By Lothar's reign the patriciate seems to have become a card to be played rather than an office customarily conferred at the time of the imperial coronation. Calixtus may have been instrumental in affecting this change. Even though the Romans now controlled the office, he could at least omit the coronation with the golden diadem from *ordo* C. The *ordo* would never be used, and Calixtus did not stop the Romans' march to regain the governance of their city, but he may nevertheless have taken the teeth out of the tiger. After his death members of several leading Roman families did not mention the office when they wrote a letter to Lothar stating that since Anaclet held him in such high esteem, they considered it their duty to extend respect to him. They admonished him that if he wanted the imperial crown, he would have to observe the Roman laws, but they did not offer him the golden diadem.⁵⁵ In like manner, when Frederick I approached Rome in 1155 emissaries from the restored Roman Senate met him and offered him the crown, but it was the imperial crown rather than the golden diadem.⁵⁶ Accordingly, except

⁵³ MGH SS 26:40.

⁵⁴ MGH SS 34:593: "Ipse vero in civitate coronam circuli patricialis accepturus remansit; nam tunc exaltationis sancte crucis agebatur celebritas." Even if the coronation were a repetition of an earlier ceremony, its implications would be the same.

⁵⁵ The letter is reproduced by Arrigo Solmi in his book dealing with the medieval Roman Senate, *Il Senato Romano nell'alto Medio Evo (757-1143)* (Rome, 1944), pp. 229-234; see also Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, p. 68 and n. 10.

⁵⁶ *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, Lib. II, 21-22, MGH SS 20:404-407. In offering the crown the Romans stated: "Orbis imperium affectas, coronam praebitura gratanter assurgo, iocante occurro." p. 404. The astute emperor-elect disdainfully rejected the offer. Coronation by the pope was infinitely more meaningful, and besides, Frederick declared, he held Rome by

for Petrus Diaconus' report that Lothar was crowned with the golden diadem in 1137, the last notable reference to the coronation was David's account of April 1111.

Other than the interjection of the description of the coronation with the golden diadem, David's account of the imperial coronation of April follows *ordo B*. The Scottish bishop signified his awareness that an official *ordo* was being observed when he said, "just as the *Ordo Romanus* prescribes." The *relatio* of the emperor paraphrases this account except for the detail of the golden diadem. Thus, both the imperial and the papal accounts acknowledge an official *ordo*, and it appears to have been *ordo B*.

In the mind of Calixtus the *ordo* would have been associated with a demeaned papacy, and for him it would have been an obvious move to compose a new *ordo* infusing dignity and authority into the office.

right of conquest. The Romans were furious that the pope crowned him at the *confessio* without their permission.

Chapter 6

CALIXTUS AS THE AUTHOR OF *ORDO C*

Conditions during the reign of Calixtus created the need for a comprehensive coronation *ordo*, which would promote papal interests and make imperial innovations more difficult. Because powerful churchmen like Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz and Gerhoh of Reichersberg criticized his concessions to Henry in the Concordat of Worms, it was essential that Calixtus demonstrate that the papacy was not retreating to the ignominious reigns of his two recent predecessors. Nothing encapsulated that weakness more than the coronation ceremonies of February and April 1111. As we have seen, as archbishop of Vienne Calixtus had tried to restore papal dignity, but was only minimally successful.¹ Now he had the means and the power to fashion the coronation ceremonies into a medium for enhancing the prestige of the papacy and for advancing its authority. Custom had to be codified, and established rituals modified.

A. THE EVIDENCE

Apart from the need, what is the evidence that the “C” in *ordo C* referred to Calixtus, and that he inspired its rituals?² It is generally believed that the two main components of the *ordo* were *ordo B* and the Fulrad *ordo*.³ The Fulrad *ordo* was written c. 980 in France, and was used

¹ For the Lateran Council of March 1112 where Guy's emissaries worked to gain support for excommunicating the emperor, see Mansi 21:52–53; for the Council of Vienne, which Guy convened, and which excommunicated the emperor, *ibid.*, 73–78; for other sources and an analysis of the line taken by Guy see Stanley Chodorow, “Ecclesiastical Politics and the Ending of the Investiture Contest: The Papal Election of 1119 and the Negotiations of Mouzon,” *Speculum* (1971), 616 & n. 9.

² Circumstantial evidence suggests that the *ordo* was written before the reign of Innocent II. The term, “curia Romana” is not found in *ordo C*, but it is used frequently in the *Liber Politicus*. Haller says that the innovations were so extreme that no official lower than the pope could have made them. He also agrees that “C” refers to the name of a pope, but does not conclude that it was Calixtus. Haller, “Die Formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung,” pp. 71–72.

³ Ramackers notes the significance of the influence of the Fulrad *Ordo* on *ordo C*, and uses it as part of his argument that John of Gaeta wrote *ordo C* for Henry V's projected coronation in February 1111. It was written c. 980 in the Monastery of Saint-Vaast in Arras, and was transferred to the Sacramentary of abbot Ratold of Corbie. Then called the Ratold *Ordo*, it was used in the coronation of Louis VI. Ramackers notes that a year before the coronation (1107) Paschal was in northern France with his curia including John of Gaeta, and that he granted a privilege to Saint-Vaast (JL 6134). He speculates that John of Gaeta

in the coronation ceremony of Louis VI in 1108. As the powerful archbishop of Vienne at that time, the future pope had extensive relations with France, and was in a position to know of the *ordo*'s use in the coronation. Moreover, his French chancellor, Haimeric, was familiar with the practices of the kingdom of his origin. One or both of them could have seized upon the Fulrad *Ordo* as a suitable model for *ordo C*.

As we have seen in our discussion of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Calixtus brought the office of *camerarius domini papae* from Cluny to Rome. Twice it is mentioned in *ordo C*, creating a strong presumption that the *ordo* would not have been written before his reign. The *ordo* specifies that after the emperor-elect has sworn personal fidelity to the pope, the *camerarius* holds his *palla* while the pope asks him three times if he wishes to have peace with the church. The second reference is at the end of the ceremony after the procession has arrived at the Lateran. The *camerarius* of the pope joins the *camerarii* of the emperor in dispensing the *presbiterium* to all of the orders of the sacred palace.⁴ Almost certainly this ritual would have been performed in one of the rooms Calixtus constructed. Given the fact that the *camerarius* worked for the pope personally, and at this stage was one of his closest advisors, the accentuation of his role would add luster to the power of the papacy.

The first rubric of *ordo C* immediately announces that this *ordo* differs from all of its predecessors, and its content suggests that someone with Calixtus' long history of confrontation with the emperor could have written it. The opening rubric shows the sort of aggressiveness which Calixtus had demonstrated toward Henry as archbishop of Vienne and throughout his reign as pope.⁵ Whereas the first rubric of *ordo B* states simply that it begins the *ordo* in which the emperor receives his crown, its counterpart in *ordo C* emphasizes that it is the *ordo romanus*, that the emperor receives his crown from the lord pope in the basilica of St. Peter, and—most significantly—at the altar of St. Mauritius (all emphases are mine). The papal role is highlighted by specifying that it is the *ordo*

learned of the *Ordo* in conversations at St. Denis, where the texts of the French coronation were created. This is the best explanation of how the Fulrad *Ordo* was incorporated into *ordo C*, he concludes. "Das Alter des Kaiserkrönungsordo Cencius II," p. 47. In *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, pp. 163–167 Eichmann discusses the sources for *ordo C*. He argues that the *Ordo* of Mainz rather than the Fulrad *Ordo* was the source of the compiler of *ordo C*.

⁴ Elze, *Kaiserordines*, p. 37, #5. After the elect swears personal loyalty to the pope: "Ibique camerarius domini pape electi pallam accipit sibi habendam." When the pope and the emperor arrive at the Lateran: "Camerarii imperatoris cum camerario domini pape dent presbiterium omnibus ordinibus sacri palatii, pontifice et imperatore in camera pausan-tibus." p. 47, #55.

⁵ For Guy of Vienne's relationship with Henry prior to becoming pope see Stroll, "Calixtus II", passim. For his family see p. 5 & n. 5, and idem, "The Struggle between Guy of Vienne and Henry V," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1980), 97–115.

romanus, that the pope crowns the emperor, and that the ceremony takes place in the basilica of the saint from whom the pope receives his authority.

The second chapter continues this emphasis. The kissing of the pope's foot was the counterpart of the eastern ceremony of proskynesis. The ceremony had passed from the Roman emperor to the Byzantine court, and from there to the papacy. Gregory VII asserted that *quos solius papae pedes omnes principes deosculentur*. In following the ritual which Innocent II's curia had devised for judicial proceedings, the abbot, Hariulf, performed the act of proskynesis.⁶ The inclusion of this ritual in *ordo C* coincided with Calixtus' appropriation of imperial attributes, and further served to humble the emperor to the pope.⁷

But by far the most critical change from *ordo B* to *ordo C* is the switch from performing the coronation at the major altar to the altar of St. Maurice, located on the left side of the transept.⁸ There is no evidence

⁶ *Das Register Gregors VII.*, ed. Erich Caspar, MGH Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum II, 1, p. 204; *Chronicon Aldenburgense Majus, Appendix ad Hariulfum*. PL 174:1544–1554; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 115; Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, p. 124 & n. 11.

⁷ Panvinus states that an ancient book of rituals stipulated that before S. Maria in Turribus the emperor elect both kiss the foot of the pope and swear an oath of fidelity. *De basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 262: "... nam in ea [S. Maria in Turribus] imperatores designati sollemne iuramentum praestabant. Legitur autem in vetere libro rituali sic: '... ante portas aereas sanctae Mariae in turribus, ubi sedens dominus Papa in sede sua, circumstantibus episcopis, et Cardinalibus diaconis et ceteris ordinibus ecclesiae suscipit imperatorem, et uxorem, et omnes procures suos ad osculum pedis, coram quo imperator sollemne praestat fidelitatis iuramentum.'"

⁸ See the map of old St. Peter's constructed by Tiberius Alphanus out of the best sources he could find as the old structure was being torn down and the new one built at the end of the sixteenth century; *De Basilicae Vaticanae Antiquissima et Nova Structura*, at the end of the Cerrati edition. In describing the old church Alphanus (p. 46) says of the altar: "Sed hinc per directum ex adverso in parastate fornices minorum navium sustinente, ad Orientem e regione Altaris sancti Leonis papae, erat sacellum cum Altari sancti Mauritij martyris eidem parastati adhaerens, cuius illa singularis erat dignitas, quod Imperator designatus antequam ad Altare sancti Petri a Romano Pontifice coronam imperij ad gladium defendendae Ecclesiae causa susciperet, ibi primum ab Episcopis Cardinalibus, more veterum benedici et inugi solebat. Huius arae multa mentio est in actis coronationum omnium romanorum imperatorum; denique Iohannes de Paparonibus Canonicus Basilicae dotem adauxit." In a later manuscript in which he attempted to be more precise, and which Cerrati includes as an appendix, Alphanus states, p. 185: "Altare sancti Mauritij martyris a Ioanne de Paparonibus Basilicae Canonico optime dotatum; ad quod Imperator et Imperatrix ab Episcopis Cardinalibus benedicuntur et in brachio dextro oleo sancto unguuntur antequam a summo Pontifice ad Altare sancti Petri coronentur." Cerrati, p. 46 n. 2, notes that Panvinus says that the image of S. Maurizio was transported to the altar de Ossibus and "habet id Altare imaginem S. Mauritii et gradum porphireticum." (Vat. Lat 7010, fols. 281v–282r). In *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 239 Panvinus first describes the location of the altar of St. Maurice: "Hoc ex adverso respiebat altare sancti Mauritii." Later (pp. 240–241) he shows its importance as the place where the emperor elect is anointed before coronation: "Subsequebatur altare cum sacello sancti Mauritii, cuius illa singularis erat dignitas, quod imperator designatus, antequam ad altare sancti Petri a romano Pontifice coronam imperii, ac gladium defendendae ecclesiae causa susciperet, ibi primum ab episcopis Cardinalibus more veterum benedici, et inungi solebat. Huius arae multa mentio est in actis omnium coronationum romanorum imperatorum." Jounel, *Le Culte des Saints*, pp. 391–392.

indicating when the altar was created, but it was not mentioned in the *Enchiridion de sacellis et altaribus Basilicae Vaticanae* from the eighth century.⁹ The first notice of its existence is in the *Liber Politicus* written by Benedictus canonicus during the reign of Innocent II.¹⁰ It may, therefore, have been constructed, or at least come into prominence just before the middle of the twelfth century. The timing would approximate the reign of Calixtus.

No other saint could compare with St. Peter, but Maurice was not even among the most venerated.¹¹ His chief importance was to the German monarchy rather than to the church. As a soldier saint, he was the perfect exemplar for the house of Saxony, from which the Ottonian kings emerged in the tenth century.¹² But for Calixtus he had a special connecton. Maurice was the patron saint of Burgundy, and the monastery established in his honor was just south of Lake Geneva in the area where Calixtus functioned as the son of the count of Burgundy and as archbishop of Vienne. Even more pertinently, the archiepiscopal church of Vienne was dedicated to St. Maurice. Accordingly, Calixtus would have been especially conscious of the significance of the saint and his connection with the German monarchy.

There was a tradition of placing royal crowns on the head of a reliquary of a saint when they were not being used, because it was thought that the power residing in the reliquary would be transferred to the wearer of the crown. The crowns of King Boso of Burgundy (d. 888) and Hugh of Provence (d. 948) were placed on the head-reliquary of St. Maurice in the church dedicated to the saint in Vienne.¹³ As archbishop, Calixtus would constantly have been reminded of the juxtaposition of the saint and the monarchy.

⁹ G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* 2 (Rome, 1888), pp. 224–228; Eichmann, "Der Kaiserkrönungsordo 'Cencius II'," p. 328.

¹⁰ *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 169: "Hec laus [constituted by Leo III] in corona ejus ad altare sancti Mauricii ubi coronatur imperator a Romano pontifice." In a note in the Niggli edition of Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 309r there is an interesting discrepancy in reference to this text. Instead of following Benedict, who states that the emperor is crowned at the altar of Sanctus Mauritius, he says: "Haec laus fuit in coronatione eius ad altare sancti Mauricii videlicet ante altare maius beati Petri coronatus imperator a Romano pontifice."

¹¹ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 243.

¹² According to the legend recorded in the *Passio martyrum Acaunensium* by the fifth century French bishop, St. Eucherius, Maurice (Mauritius) was a commander of a group of Egyptian Christian soldiers serving in the Roman army. Maximian, who later became emperor, sent the legion to Gaul to quash a revolt of Christian peasants. The legion refused to fight their fellow Christians, and withdrew to Agaunum (Agaune). Maximian executed the entire legion. Adalbert Herzberg, *Der heilige Mauritius: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Mauritiusverehrung* (Düsseldorf, 1981); Maurice Zufferey, *Die Abtei Saint-Maurice d'Agaune im Hochmittelalter (830–1258)* (Göttingen, 1988); Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, pp. 213, 217 & n. 95.

¹³ Schramm/Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, p. 34.

As we have observed, Calixtus was especially shrewd in symbolically insinuating the superiority of papal to imperial power, and St. Maurice presented him with the perfect symbol. By shifting the imperial coronation to an altar of a saint associated with the German kings, but not with the Roman emperors, and of a saint of lesser importance to the church, Calixtus diminished the aura of the emperor. The message conveyed complimented the images in the *scabellum* series in the *camera pro secretis consiliis*.¹⁴

If the transfer of the coronation to the altar of St. Maurice had stood alone, its impact on the relative status of pope and emperor would still have been momentous. Besides the chasm separating St. Peter from St. Maurice, the visual spectacle of a ceremony performed in the transept rather than at the altar above the *confessio*—the cynosure of the whole nave—would have been greatly reduced. But in addition, combining the move to the altar of St. Maurice with the rebuilding and aggrandizement of the major altar greatly magnified the distinction.¹⁵ This disparity was further sharpened by the construction of an iron grating around the major altar to emphasize its sacredness, and to set it off from the rest of the church. Calixtus identified himself with the new equation of papal/imperial dignity symbolized in these changes by inscribing his own name on the major altar. The identification was twofold: 1) Calixtus with St. Peter, and 2) Calixtus with Sylvester.¹⁶ While papal coronations would be performed at the altar dedicated to St. Peter and associated with Sylvester, imperial coronations would be solemnized at an altar honoring a provincial Burgundian saint adopted by the Saxon kings.¹⁷

¹⁴ Andrieu, *Le Pontifical de la Curie*, n. 1, p. 292 says that *ordo C* expresses how a high curialist conceived the ideal relations which the liturgy ought to establish between the pope and the emperor. He believes that it marks the emperor with an accentuated ecclesiastical character, which clearly subordinates him to the pope; Klewitz, "Papsttum und Kaiserkrönung," p. 432.

¹⁵ *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 435–436.

¹⁶ See the description of the major altar constructed by Sylvester in a papal chronicle written at the time of Innocent II, and inserted into the *Liber Politicus*; *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 167, cited ch. 3, n. 19; Alpharatus (*De Basilicae Vaticanae Structura*, pp. 31–32) describes the *confessio* as the "summa religione ac pietate venerabantur. . . . Huc primum ipse Constantinus Imperator, sanctorum Apostolorum monitis ad fidem conversus, et a beato Silvestro papa sacro baptismis fonte a lepra mundatus, octavo die post susceptum baptismum, omnipotenti Deo vivo et vero gratias acturus supplex advenit, depositoque diademate et humi iacens vim lacrimarum profudit. . . . et in ea [basilica] [Sylvester] primum hoc altare lapideum chrismate delibutum erexit, quod figuram D. N. Iesu Christi; Qui Altare Hostia et Sacerdos noster est significaret;"

¹⁷ In the *ordo* of Apamea, included in *Le Pontifical Romain du XII^e Siècle*, the consecration is performed at the *confessio* "vel ante altare sancti Mauricii, sicut aliquando a multis factum esse dicitur," (#9). The coronation is performed at the altar of St. Peter (#16). Andrieu, pp. 252–254; Elze, *Ordines*, intro., p. XIII, & 47–50; Elze dates the *ordo* to the second half of the twelfth century. The emperor carried the sword of San Maurice. On it was

But there was also another dimension to the restoration and adornment of the major altar consecrated by Calixtus on March 25, 1123, in the presence of the bishops and other prelates, who had gathered to participate in the First Lateran Council.¹⁸ The most important reason for summoning this Council was to celebrate the Concordat of Worms, and to lay out the policy for continuing ecclesiastical reform. At this same time, as part of the renewal of the cult, the liturgy of St. Peter's was being codified.¹⁹ The drawing up of the coronation ceremony of *ordo C* would have been a logical part of this whole program. Calixtus celebrated his diplomatic triumph bringing peace to the church at the altar symbolizing the new papal prestige and power. At the same time he shut this most sacred altar off from the rest of the basilica, and in *ordo C*, transferred the imperial coronation to a lesser altar.

Ordo C still evidences a belief in the priestly essence of the emperor, but there is no suggestion of Caesaropapism. On the contrary, the emperor is dressed as a low order cleric subject to the pope.²⁰ His sacral character is emphasized by consecration at the *confessio*, but by mid-century there is a suggestion that at least some churchmen wanted to weaken this attribute by changing the locus of the consecration. They may have reasoned that if the elect were consecrated at the altar of St. Maurice instead of at the *confessio*, his spiritual nature would be less pronounced. Accordingly, the consecrated elect would not have the same divine imprint as the pope, who had been consecrated at the most holy place in the basilica.

This refinement of the use of the altar of St. Maurice was formulated, or at least expressed, by Petrus Mallius in his history of St. Peter's basilica. Petrus dedicated his history to Alexander III (1159–81), the pope notable

written "CRISTUS VINCIT—CRISTUS REGNAT—CRISTUS INPERAT"; Cecchelli, *Vita di Roma* 2, p. 142. Cecchelli writes "REGNANT", but presumably that is a mistake. The sword still exists in the Schatzkammer of Vienna.

¹⁸ See the report of Landulf of St. Paul in Milan, who was present at the council: "Ego expectans alteram diem convenientem meae causae, meaeque querelae, ex improvise vidi & audivi, quod domnus papa gratia consecrandi altare dissolvit synodum in ipsa die Mercurii, nec ultra ab eo synodum celebrari audivi, nec vidi." Mansi 21:289.

¹⁹ Michele Maccarrone, "Die Cathedra Sancti Petri im Hochmittelalter. Vom Symbol des päpstlichen Amtes zum Kultobjekt," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1981), pp. 137–172 at p. 139.

²⁰ Panvinius speaks of the garments as those of a canon. *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p.332: "reges coronandi consueverunt in basilica sancti Petri canonicalibus vestimentis induti, in numerum canonicorum recipi, et sic demum a romano Pontifice inungi et coronari." p. 339: "Ex his vero, quos supra citavimus libris ritualibus parvula quaedam . . . quod imperator postquam in ecclesia beati Petri primum canonicus factus superpellicio ad dalmutia est indutus, deinde coronatus . . ." Haller, "Die formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," p. 62. Haller points out that the dressing as a cleric was one of the significant additions of Cencius II to Cencius I. Common to all of the additions, he contends, was that the emperor was dependent upon the church.

for challenging the authority claimed by Frederick I, and in all probability he expressed his patron's views. Petrus says that according to ancient custom the emperor is consecrated and anointed at the altar of St. Maurice, and crowned at the major altar.²¹ Although the *ordo* of Apamea, written about the same time, states that some people refer to such a custom, there is no evidence that any emperor elect ever had been consecrated at the altar of St. Maurice. It is more probable that churchmen in the second half of the twelfth century invented such a "custom" to extend to a higher level the diminution of the imperial dignity initiated in *ordo* C.

Calixtus tightened the emperor/St. Maurice connection even more tautly by extending it to other parts of the ceremony in *ordo* C. In the laudes the Greek army saint, Theodore, is replaced by St. Maurice and by Mercurius, another Greek army saint, soldier and martyr.²² As a sign of his relative unimportance, St. Maurice is placed tenth in the order of saints invoked in the laudes.²³ Highlighted in the coronation and the laudes, St. Maurice is to be associated with the emperor one more time. After the mass the emperor returns to the camera of St. Gregory, where the count of the palace removes his liturgical footwear, and dresses him in his imperial boots ornamented with the spurs of St. Maurice.²⁴ These spurs were probably brought from Burgundy to the court of Otto I, and

²¹ Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico*, 3 p. 390, #11 " . . . altare sancti Mauricii martyris; ad quod scilicet altare de antiqua consuetudine Romanorum imperator a domnis episcopis cardinalibus benedicitur et ungitur. Ad altare vero maius beati Petri a domno papa benedicitur et coronatur, et de sacrosancto altari eius per manus romani pontificis ad defendendam Ecclesiam gladium accipit." Writing in 1455 Maffeo Vegio states: "Nunc ingrediamur basilicam ipsam, et quod primum praeter alia, quae dicta sunt, occurrit, altare beati Mauritii martyris referamus; cuius illa singularis est dignitas, quod imperator antequam ad altare Sancti Petri, a romano pontifice coronam imperii ac gladium defendae Ecclesiae causa, suscipiat; ibi primum ab episcopis et cardinalibus benedicitur et ungitur." *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti 4, p. 392. In his "Schedae de ecclesiis Urbis Romae" under the category of "St. Peter's" Panvinius adds nothing new. He uses Mallius and a letter of Innocent VI as his sources; Vat. Lat. 6780, fol. 188; In the *Ordo* of Constantinople, dated by Elze to the second half of the twelfth century, the emperor is consecrated at the *confessio* (#10), and crowned at the altar of St. Maurice after having become a "beati Petri milite" (#18). Elze, *Ordines*, pp. 51–58; *Ordo* XV A, *Le Pontifical de la Curie*, pp. 383–384; *ibid.*, 290–293 & n. 2; see n. 8 above & n. 17 for the *ordo* of Apamea and the possible consecration at the altar of St. Maurice. Haller, "Die Formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," pp. 57–58.

²² Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, n. 86, p. 213.

²³ Elze, *Ordines*, #46, p. 45. In the Laudes of Ivrea sung to Henry IV and his antipope, Clement III, St. Maurice is among the saints replacing the Déesis group. These laudes are similar to those of Besançon which have Maurice, Sigismund and Victor as royal patrons. The laudes of Besançon are found in an eleventh-century ms., Vat. Borg. Lat. 359, fols. 135–136; see Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, App. V, "The Franco Burgundian Laudes," pp. 243–244. The origin of these laudes in the city where Calixtus was born, and which was the seat of his family's power makes it even more probable that Calixtus was responsible for the insertion of St. Maurice into the coronation *ordo*.

²⁴ Elze, *Ordines*, #49, p. 46.

are not mentioned elsewhere.²⁵ In three critical parts of the coronation ceremony, therefore, the emperor is linked with the Burgundian saint, while the pope is identified with St. Peter.

B. THE OATHS

Nothing ties the oaths sworn by the emperor to the pope and to the Romans directly to Calixtus, but both oaths are consistent with his principles and objectives. *Ordo C* prescribes that upon his arrival into Rome the emperor-elect first meets the pope at Santa Maria in Turri seated on a raised platform at the top of the stairs, and surrounded by his highest level clergy. It is a scene reminiscent of Turandot, where the imperious princess sits at the top of stairs which seem to stretch to the firmament, looking down upon her suitor, Calaf. Coming from below the elect kisses the feet of the pope, and then from his humble position, swears an oath of fidelity. *Ordo C* says nothing about the elect's being raised to the kiss on the mouth or about the subsequent kisses and embraces reported by the *Relatio* of Paschal and other sources describing the proceedings of February 1111.²⁶ Whereas *ordo B* states only that the emperor makes a promise of protection to the church, *ordo C* says specifically that he swears an oath of fidelity, not just to the church as an abstraction, but to the pope and his successors.²⁷ By contrast the laudes are raised only to the emperor, not to his sons.²⁸ We know that Calixtus was conscious of the significance of the binding power of extending the vows to the pope's successors, since he addressed his privilege only to Henry in the Concordat of Worms, leaving open whether it applied to future emperors.²⁹

As a master of ambiguity, Calixtus did not clarify whether "fidelitatem" implied a feudal relationship between pope and emperor. But the striking innovation of the use of the term at least suggests that he wanted to differentiate the oath in *ordo C* from oaths of the past, and to insinuate that it might be feudal. As a minimum, it appears to be a *iuramentum oboedientiae*, an oath sworn by a subject.³⁰ It also has overtones of the oath of fidelity and obedience sworn by prelates to the pope and his

²⁵ Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, n. 95, p. 217.

²⁶ MGH Leges Sectio IV, Const., p. 147; Petrus Diaconus reports that Henry kissed the pope three times in the name of the trinity after arising: "Quem imperator ut vidit, de equo descendens procidit ad pedes eius demumque exurgens in nomine Trinitatis in ore et fronte et oculis ei pacem dedit ac stratoris officium exhibuit." *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, MGH SS 34:503.

²⁷ Haller, "Die Formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," p. 61.

²⁸ See ch. 4, n. 12.

²⁹ MGH Leges Sectio IV, Const., p. 161.

³⁰ Haller, "Die Formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," p. 64.

successors instituted by Gregory VII.³¹ In describing the coronation of 1111 Paschal's *Relatio* and Petrus Diaconus say only that: "Ibi ex libro professionem imperatoriam fecit."³² Even though no mention of homage clearly identifies the oath of *ordo C* as feudal, the fact that none of the kings from this period—Henry V, Lothar III and Frederick I—swore an oath of fidelity to the pope implies that danger lurked behind such terminology.³³ By the fourteenth century this danger had long since moved into the open. When Clement V reminded Henry VII that he was bound to the papacy by a "iuramentum fidelitatis", he unequivocally meant a feudal oath.³⁴ And more pertinently, in 1081, even before the events of 1111, Gregory VII had composed an oath in which the expectant to the imperial dignity would "per manus" become a "miles sancti Petri et illius [the pope]". That is, the emperor elect would become a vassal of St. Peter, and a personal vassal of the pope.³⁵ *Ordo C* was not that explicit, but like the *scabellum* series its general tone was ambiguously challenging without laying down the gauntlet. The oath could be construed as feudal, but the papacy was not locked into that interpretation.

The inclusion of the emperor's oath to the Romans in *ordo C* served quite a different purpose.³⁶ It is the only part of the ceremony which had nothing to do with the pope, and it may have been appended to show that it did not have the same status as other parts of the *ordo*. Such oaths existed from the first half of the eleventh century, but it is not known whether they corresponded in every respect to the one in *ordo C*. The oath reflects the strength of the Roman noble families, for as part of the

³¹ Stephen Baluze refers to such an oath when Maurice, the future Gregory VIII (antipope), became archbishop of Braga. *Miscellaneorum* 3, p. 477: "... postea vero Pallium accepit [Maurice] per manus Ioannie Caietani Diaconi Cardinalis & Cancellarii, Paschalisque secundo tum sedenti & catholicis successoribus ejus fidelitatis & obedientiae iuramentum secundum formulam a Gregorio VII. institutum praestitit;"

³² MGH Leges Sectio IV, Const., p. 147; MGH SS 34:503.

³³ Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 2, pp. 171–184. In a long discussion of imperial oaths during the coronation ceremony Eichmann concludes that the oath in *ordo C* was not feudal. He compares the oath in *ordo C* with the non-feudal bishop's oath, where the elect states that *fidelis ero*. Missing in both cases is the declaration of homage, which Eichmann believes would make it a feudal oath. Haller points out that there is no evidence that any emperor elect had ever sworn such an oath during coronation ceremonies; see n. 30 above.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 183–184; Erich Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII.* 2 (Berlin, Dublin, Zurich, 1967), Buch IX, 3, p. 576: "Et eo die, quando illum primitus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles sancti Petri et illius efficiat." In the thirteenth century the leading canonists considered the emperor to be a papal vassal. Commenting on the Ottonian oath (*tibi domino*, Dist. 63, c. 31) in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Johannes Teutonicus says in agreement with Huguccio: "Tibi domino. Argu. quod qui feudum recipit ab ecclesia, iuramentum fidelitatis non solum ecclesiae sed etiam praelatis praestare debet, extra de iureiuran. ego N. episcopus", *Decretum Gratiani* (Venice, 1572), p. 222.

³⁶ Elze, *Ordines*, p. 47: "Ego N. futurus imperator iuro me servaturum Romanis bonas consuetudines, et firmo cartas tercii generis et libelli, sine fraude et malo ingenio. Sic Deus me adiuvet et hec sancta evangelia." Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 2, pp. 189–201.

coronation ceremony the emperor not only had to swear to uphold their customs, but also to honor contracts entered into with them over property in and around Rome. Henry IV repeatedly had been forced to negotiate with the Romans over his coronation, and probably Henry III also had had to guarantee that he would not disturb their possessions.

The *Relatio* of Paschal reports that according to the custom of previous emperors, Henry swore two oaths to the Romans.³⁷ Usually oaths were sworn once or three times, so the report of Petrus Diaconus that Henry had already sworn an oath to the Romans the day before in his camp on Monte Mario may be accurate.³⁸ Petrus recounts Henry's antipathy to swearing such an oath, and claims that he swore it in German so that the Romans would not comprehend it. Not gulled, however, the Romans suspected that Henry was attempting to deceive them. As interesting as this oath is for understanding Henry's attitude toward the Romans, it may not have counted as the third oath, for like the *Relatio* of Paschal, Petrus later says that Henry swore the customary two oaths to the Romans at the appointed places.³⁹ Petrus is known to have prevaricated and to have forged documents for his own objectives, but I can see no advantage in inventing this oath, other than to set the stage for Henry's later alleged deceptiveness in St. Peter's. Whatever the facts were, Petrus' report highlights the significance of an oath to the Romans, and makes it understandable that it would be included in a coronation *ordo*.

Even so, since neither the earlier *ordo* B nor those of Apamea and Constantinople written in the second half of the twelfth century contain an oath to the Romans, its incorporation into *ordo* C is an aberration, and must be explained by the particular conditions that existed at the time of its drafting. In 1111 Henry had ravaged property within Rome and its environs, especially the Sabina, where he had great support from the imperial abbey of Farfa, and where he held Paschal and his cardinals captive. Given the threat to their property, the Roman aristocratic families wanted to be assured that they had legal protection against the emperor. The Pierleoni would have been particularly concerned because Petrus Leonis had ruled against Farfa in a dispute with the Octaviani, the local counts. The abbot of Farfa would later invade the papal properties when Petrus Pierleoni was elected one of the popes in 1130, and Petrus as

³⁷ MGH Leges sectio IV, Const., p. 147.

³⁸ MGH SS 34:503: "Romanis vero instantibus, ut honorem et libertatem urbis sacramento firmaret, callide illos cesar circumvenire cupiens Teutonica lingua iusta suum velle iuravit. Nonnulli autem ex Romanis hoc agnoscentes et fraudem esse in negotio proclamantes in urbem se receperunt.

³⁹ Ibid. "Duo iusta priorum imperatorum consuetudinem iuramenta . . . Romanorum populo fecit."

Anaclet would retaliate. The Pierleoni were deeply involved in the negotiations of 1111, and were still influential under Calixtus.⁴⁰ In cooperation with other Roman families, they may have urged Calixtus to include the oath to the Romans in *ordo C*.

Anxious to secure their continuing support, and especially in light of the attacks perpetrated on his predecessors by some of the most powerful Roman families, Calixtus would have been amenable to obliging them as long as papal prerogatives had already been assured. An additional incentive would have been an opportunity to check imperial power, one of the hallmarks of the *ordo*. The inclusion of the oath marks the beginning of an era of Roman assertiveness, which would later manifest itself in the restoration of the Senate (1143). The less noble families, which mainly constituted the Senate, would look to the emperor for support, while most of the aristocratic families would continue to tie their fortunes to the papacy. Representing their interests in *ordo C* may have been calculated to help to assure their loyalty.

C. DIMINUTION OF IMPERIAL STATURE

Ordo B specifies that the prayer of the Bishop of Albano follow the oath to the pope, but *ordo C* inserts another ritual between the oath and the prayer. The pope asks the elect if he wishes to have peace with the church, and upon an affirmative response, he asks him whether he wishes to be the son of the church.⁴¹ The first question implies that the emperor might not wish to have peace with the church, a question which may have been elicited from the experiences of 1111. Peace ultimately became Calixtus' objective, and a comparison between his statement to Henry, when he finally reached an accommodation with the emperor in the Concordat of Worms, and the response of the pope in *ordo C* is strikingly similar. In the Concordat Calixtus says: "Do tibi veram pacem et omnibus qui in parte tua sunt vel fuerunt tempore huius discordiae."⁴² In *ordo C* the pope responds: "Et ego do tibi pacem, sicut Dominus dedit discipulis suis."⁴³

At this point the *ordo* appears to be subtly undermining imperial stature by using such terminology as *filius* of the church, and *principe* rather than the term *imperator* used in *ordo B* and in such subsequent

⁴⁰ See Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, pp. 10–20, 132–134.

⁴¹ Haller concludes that this is one of the four most significant additions to *ordo B*. Common to all of them, he asserts, is that the emperor is dependent upon the church. "Die Formen der Deutsch-Römischen Kaiserkrönung," p. 62.

⁴² MGH Legum IV, Const., p. 161.

⁴³ Elze, *Ordines*, #6, p. 37.

ordines as that of Apamea. Even the *Relatio* of Paschal designates the elect as “emperor” before the first prayer.⁴⁴

The *scrutinium* continues in the same vein.⁴⁵ Based upon the episcopal *scrutinium*, the emperor-elect must demonstrate to the pope that he is suitable to rule Western Christendom. Citing the holy fathers and Timothy 5.22 the pope states that the elect must diligently be examined over his faith in the holy Trinity and over different cases and customs, which apply to his rule. Even though the pope presents good grounds for requiring the demonstration of orthodoxy and commitment to Christian principles, emperors traditionally had not been obliged to undergo such an interrogation. No other *ordo* makes such a demand. Calixtus cleverly transformed the discussion between equals at the middle rota in the ceremonies of February 1111 into a ritual in which, just as with bishops, the pope sits in judgment over the emperor-elect.

Having been found to be doctrinally suitable, the emperor may then receive his ruling power. The granting of the scepter as the symbol of this power suggests that the emperor is beholden to the pope for his *imperium*. According to the Donation of Constantine, Constantine granted the scepter along with other imperial ornaments to Sylvester. Through the transmission of the scepter in *ordo C* the pope permits the emperor to exercise the power, which ironically was originally imperial.⁴⁶ By contrast, according to an *ordo* from the middle or second half of the eleventh century written for the coronation of the Salian emperors, the emperor-elect already bears the scepter before he enters the church.⁴⁷ The transference of the scepter in *ordo C*, therefore, represents a significant change from an independent ruling power to a power dependent upon the pope.

The whole palette of *ordo C* shades the emperor’s authority more toward ecclesiastical hues (e.g. the imitation of the episcopal *scrutinium*), and less toward imperial. This theme is carried through in the laudes where the martial “Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat” is reduced to a mere three shouts. By the time of Innocent III it will have been omitted entirely, and the laudes removed from the mass.⁴⁸ *Ordo C* mirrors the same shift to a more imperial pope and a less imperial emperor that was visible in the final fresco of the *scabellum*

⁴⁴ MGH Legum IV, Const., p. 147.

⁴⁵ The *scrutinium* is another of Haller’s four significant changes from *ordo B* to *ordo C*.

⁴⁶ Mirbt/Aland, *Quellen* 1, #14, p. 234: “. . . conferentes etiam et imperialia sceptrum, simulque et conta atque signa, banda etiam et diversa ornamenta imperialia et omnem processionem imperialis culminis et gloriam potestatis nostrae.”

⁴⁷ Elze, *Ordines*, #XIII, p. 34: “In capite portat dyademam, in dextra portat sceptrum . . .”

⁴⁸ Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, pp. 142–146.

series, where the pope sat majestically enthroned, and the emperor stood.

The procession following the coronation ceremonies continues the same theme. At the beginning and ending of the procession *ordo C* prescribes that the emperor perform a variant of the *officium stratoris* first mentioned in the Donation of Constantine.⁴⁹ Rather than holding the reins to help the pope mount and dismount, the emperor holds the stirrup. The *ordo* carefully stipulates that the pope be uncrowned in both instances, so that he would receive this service as the vicar of Peter and not as the secular ruler of Christendom.⁵⁰ In the Donation of Constantine the service is performed out of reverence for St. Peter, but during the course of time since its composition in the mid-eighth century the ceremony had taken on increasingly feudal overtones. The reform papacy

⁴⁹ Mirbt/Aland, *Quellen* 1, #16, p. 255: "et tenentes frenum equi ipsius pro reverentia beati Petri stratoris officium illi exhibuimus;" Elze, *Ordines*, #51, p. 46, #53, p. 47; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 1, pp. 218–220; Eichmann, "Das Officium Stratoris et Strepae," *Historische Zeitschrift* 142 (1930), 16–40; R. Holtzmann, *Der Kaiser als Marschall des Papstes: Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Kaiser und Papst im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1928); Holtzmann, "Zum Strator- und Marschalldienst," *Historische Zeitschrift* 145 (1932), 301–350, esp. 337; Ramackers, "Das Alter des Kaiserkrönungsorto Cencius II," p. 32; Träger, *Der reitende Papst*, passim.

⁵⁰ According to the Donation of Constantine, Constantine had wanted to grant Sylvester his own golden, jeweled crown, but Sylvester did not find it suitable to cover the clerical tonsure with such a crown. Constantine then granted him the white *frigium*, which Sylvester found acceptable, and which future popes would wear in processions. "Decrevimus itaque et hoc, ut isdem venerabilis pater noster Silvester, summus pontifex, vel omnes eius successores pontifices diadema, videlicet coronam, quam ex capiti nostro illi concessimus, ex auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosis uti debeant et eorum capite at laudem Dei pro honore beati Petri gestare; ipse vero sanctissimus papa super coronam clericatus, quam gerit ad gloriam beati Petri, omnino ipsa ex auro non est passus uti corona, frygium vero candido nitore splendidam resurrectionem dominicam designans eius reverentissimo vertici manibus nostris posuimus, et tenentes frenum equi ipsius pro reverentia beati Petri stratoris officium illi exhibuimus; statuantes, eundem frygium omnes eius successores pontifices singulariter uti in processionibus." Mirbt/Aland, *Quellen* 1, p. 255.

Andrieu concludes that in the first part of the twelfth century the papacy decided to make use of the privilege Sylvester had rejected. A little after 1123 Bruno of Segni stated the doctrine of the pontifical legalists that the pope wear the regnum and use the purple, because Constantine had handed over all of the imperial insignia. "Summus autem pontifex propter haec et regnum portat (sic enim vocatur) et purpura utitur, non pro significatione, ut puto, sed quia Constantinus imperator olim beato Silvestro omnia Romani imperii insignia tradidit. Unde et in magnis processionibus fieri solebat." *De sacramentis ecclesiae, mysteriis atque ecclesiasticis ritibus*, PL 165:108; Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age* 3, pp. 173–174; in *ordo C* the crown would probably be the imperial regnum rather than the frygium signifying the resurrection of the lord, but the distinction between the frygium and the imperial crown was not always clear. In the Basel MS., for example, which appears to stem from the middle of the twelfth century, "regnum" and "frigium" are used interchangeably. "et ubi archidiaconus recipit regnum, quod alio vocabulo frigium dicitur . . ." Bernhard Schimmelpfennig "Ein bisher unbekannter Text zur Wahl, Konsekration und Krönung des Papstes im 12. Jahrhundert," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 6 (1968), 43–70 at p. 65; Klewitz, "Papsttum und Kaiserkrönung," p. 417. The imperializing of the papal headgear was consistent with Calixtus' views, and it is not fortuitous that Bruno of Segni was the one to articulate the new policy, for the hardline reformer was one of his allies. See, for example, their cooperation in the Lenten Council of 1116; Stroll, "Calixtus II," p. 16.

emphasized its performance, and it became a significant issue in the reigns of Lothar III and Frederick I. Calixtus was sensitive to the possible implications of the ceremony, and had claimed that the holding of the reins of the papal horse in Benevento and Troia was the service of a vassal.⁵¹

Coming from the Kingdom of Burgundy, it would have been an easy extension of the practices of northern Europe for him to suggest that the performance of the *officium stratoris* in the imperial coronation ceremonies was feudal. The variant of the holding of the stirrup instead of the reins reinforces this suggestion. Gerhoh of Reichersberg distinguished between the two ceremonies, describing the second as the service of a “marescalcus”. Gerhoh thought that it was perfectly proper that the emperor show his respect for the pope by performing the *officium stratoris* as it was described in the Donation of Constantine, but he objected to the portrayal of the emperor as a marshal as humiliating. The essential service of the marshal was the holding of the stirrup, and this was a feudal act.⁵²

Calixtus almost never used ceremony and imagery to communicate his ideological positions explicitly, but he cleverly exploited these media for opening possibilities of interpretations extending papal authority. This appears to have been his tactic in incorporating the *officium stratoris* into *ordo C*. In setting the precedence of the pope to the emperor in the procession from St. Peter’s to the Lateran he was more direct. The processional order was precisely purposeful, and was later changed to the more equitable practice of walking side by side.

In summary, the evidence does not prove, but it strongly suggests, that Calixtus wrote *ordo C* as a response to the disgrace suffered by the papacy in the coronation ceremonies of 1111, and as part of his campaign to strengthen the authority of the pope and to diminish the power of the emperor. The innovations went from nuances such as the softening of the imperial laudes to the dramatic switch of the coronation from the major altar to the altar of the Burgundian Saint Maurice. By the time that

⁵¹ Klewitz, “Papsttum und Kaiserkrönung,” p. 433.

⁵² Holtzmann, *Der Kaiser als Marschall des Papstes*, pp. 28–29; idem, “Zum Strator- und Marschalldienst,” pp. 334–335; Holtzmann emphasizes the distinction between the two ceremonies, and equates the holding of the stirrup with the feudal service of a marshal. Eichmann disagrees; *Die Kaiserkrönung* 2, pp. 289–297; In *De quarta vigilia noctis* Gerhoh says: “Beatus Papa Silvester ab augusto Constantino regalis magnificentiae honoribus praedictus non se honorantem inhonoravit et quamvis ei pro sui humilitate semel stratoris officium exhibuerit, non tamen eum summ esse marescalcum vel dixit vel scripsit, vel pinxit . . . valde miramur unde nova pictura haec emerit, qua Romanorum imperator pingitur marescalcus.” MGH LdL 3:511. This text will be discussed in relation to Innocent II’s painting of the coronation of Lothar III. The inscription under the painting describes the emperor as Innocent’s “homo”.

Cencius or someone who followed him wrote in the margin next to *ordo* B in the *Liber Censuum* that if anyone wished to know better what the pope and the emperor were to do, that they should refer back to the beginning of the book (*ordo* C), these extremely significant changes had become part of the background noise.⁵³ No longer sensitive to changes which had progressed to far more radical expressions of papal authority, Cencius presumed that *ordo* B was merely a more simple version of *ordo* C. But if in fact *ordo* C had been used to fill in the gaps of *ordo* B, there would have been times when the ceremony would have resembled a scene from the *Commedia del'Arte*. For example, while a group of actors following one *ordo* would have moved toward the altar of St. Peter, a group observing the other would have headed toward the altar of St. Maurice. Clearly *ordo* B was not just an adumbration of *ordo* C. In all probability Calixtus altered the basic *ordo* to represent the aspirations of the papacy after it had defeated the imperial pope and had achieved peace with the emperor himself. Like art, liturgy was a fertile medium for continuing his efforts to achieve papal hegemony.

⁵³ Eichmann, on the contrary concludes that: "C I [*ordo* B] ist nur ein Bruckstück. So dachte man über das Verhältnis von C I zu C II zu Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, so dachte Cencius selbst." "Verhältnis von 'Cencius I' zu 'Cencius II'," p. 227.

Chapter 7

HONORIUS II AND THE PIERLEONI

A. HONORIUS

Honorius is an enigma. Whereas Calixtus had just used ceremony, architecture, and art so creatively and effectively to further his objectives, Honorius hardly availed himself of the potential of these media. He did not identify himself with any notable monument in Rome, and he is not known to have inspired any art or ceremony which promoted his policies. The anomaly is all the greater because he not only had the precedent, but also the need. Having gained his office through a coup, he needed to justify his actions in order to calm the dissident factions in Rome, and to receive the acceptance of the church at large.¹ More cosmically, as the first pope following the Concordat of Worms, he had the opportunity to communicate his vision of the direction the church should take after its truce with the emperor. The reasons why he did not exploit the techniques used so successfully by Calixtus are especially mysterious, since he had the resources. Pandulfus reports that when Duke William of Apulia died, Roger, count of Sicily, gave him a large sum of money for rebuilding ancient churches in the city, and for restoring the *porticus* of San Paulo fuore le mura. In turn, Honorius was expected to appoint him as William's successor.² Honorius did not respond with the *quid pro quo*, but Roger gained the dukedom anyway through the use of force.

Although we have no hard evidence, Honorius probably at least did rebuild the *porticus*, for Panvinus observed that the entry in ruins in the sixteenth century had been an imposing edifice with great columns and a marble floor.³ The selection of the monastery of San Paulo for restoration is of great interest because of its association with so many different factions. The Pierleoni family felt especially strong bonds with San Paulo, as they demonstrated when they chose it as the final resting place for

¹ For the coup carried out by the Frangipani during the consecration of the regularly elected Celestine II see *Lib. Pont. Dert.*, pp. 203–206.

² *Ibid.*, 206 & n. 19, 213–214.

³ Vat. Lat. 6780, fol. 46.

Petrus Leonis, the patriarch of the family (c. 1128).⁴ Even more significantly, in April 1130, just after he had established himself in Rome, one of Anaclet's first actions was to confirm its vast possessions. His charter is distinguished by the signatures of a large number of eminent cardinals, including Peter of Porto, and Peter of Pisa, cardinal priest of Santa Susanna.⁵ Once he returned to Rome Innocent did not penalize the monastery for its adherence to Anaclet, but favored it by repairing the roof of its basilica.⁶ What this special attention from opponents appears to show is that San Paulo not only stood outside of the Roman walls, but also outside of any rivalries. Rather than falling under the influence of any one pope or family, like the Lateran and St. Peter's San Paulo was treated as a church above such patronage. But although it possessed a special dignity as the church of the second founder of the church, it never carried the symbolic effect of St. Peter's and the Lateran. For this reason Honorius' construction of the *porticus* seems to have had no political significance.

If Honorius identified with any basilica, it was the Lateran, which he scarcely left. Quite probably he consecrated the elaborate altar of Santa Maria Magdalena.⁷ The altar contained many relics, and was surrounded by eight columns supporting a tabernacle of sculpted marble.⁸ Like Calixtus he continued to constitute new financial exactions in favor of the Lateran palace (two compared with Calixtus' seven, and Innocent's very long list), and he confirmed a bull of the possessions of the *ptochium* (poor house) near the *scala sancta*. The canons regular of S. Frediano of Lucca requested to be discharged from their duty to the basilica, but Honorius absolutely refused. During the turmoil following his death, his followers buried him in the Lateran along with Paschal and Calixtus.

Thus, Honorius remains a lacuna in a tradition of popes, who utilized art and ceremony for propaganda. From Panvinus' description of the

⁴ Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 12, p. 11, #7; Silvagni, *Monumenta* I, Tab. XXVII #2.

⁵ JL 8373; PL 179:692.

⁶ Boso's life of Innocent, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 384.

⁷ Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran*, pp.172–173. Panvinus mentions that he consecrated an altar dedicated to Mary Magdalene in the Basilica. *Description du Latran*, *ibid.*, 436: "In choro autem illo vetere Canoniorum erat Altare in honorem Beatae Mariae Magdaleneae dedicatum, in quo corpus eius sine capite reconditum fuisse fertur ab Honorio Papa II qui ipsum altare olim dedicaverat." The altar may have had some political significance for Ugonio states: "Supra altare Sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae est tiara qua coronatus est sanctus Silvester per Constantinum Imperatorem. . . ." Barb. XXX, 67, ed. Lauer, *ibid.* For the remains of the altar see plate XX.

⁸ Although Lauer thought that the altar was consecrated by Honorius III, Pompeo Ugonio attributes it to Honorius II: "Quivi dinanzi a man dritta sopra certi gradi di marmo è l'altare di Santa Maria Madalena fatto da Papa Honorio II circa di il 1128 circondato da otto colonne, che sostengono un Tabernacolo di marmo lavorato, con un pogetto attorno, cinto di balustri di noce." *Historia delle stationi di Roma che si celebrano la Quadragesima* (Rome, 1588), p. 41.

ruins of the *porticus* of San Paulo we can infer that he followed Calixtus' model of a majestic papacy, but whatever else we hope to know about his policies and ideology, we must glean from other sources.

B. THE PIERLEONI

Anaclet, by contrast, picked up where Calixtus had left off, but the papacy he illuminated was the more simple papacy of the early church.⁹ His ideals contrasted with his personal status, for he was the Roman equivalent of a prince. Even though he came from a new family, and more damagingly, from a family of Jewish converts, he had risen to the highest levels of Roman society. The Pierleoni may have been resented, but as the most staunch supporters of the reform papacy, to oppose them was to oppose the pope. Moreover, since they were wealthy and militarily powerful, no lay or ecclesiastical noble would want to tangle with them without strong support. No matter how some cardinals may silently have chafed, when Petrus Pierleoni strode into their midst, they all deferred to him. A legate of Honorius confided to the bishop of Arezzo that at Petrus' nod, all Rome spoke or was silent.¹⁰ The legate had no reason to exaggerate, for the Pierleoni had resisted the coup, which brought Honorius to power, and under his rule they ceased to play the special role they had enjoyed under his predecessors.

Petrus' father, Petrus Leonis, not only supported the papacy monetarily and militarily, but he also functioned as a diplomat, administrator and judge for the popes whom he served.¹¹ He was a cultivated man, and both his poetry and his sarcophagus exhibit a knowledge of the classics.¹² He died by 1128, and was buried in San Paulo fuori le Mura.¹³

His tomb was a huge, antique marble coffin, probably sculpted in the third or fourth quarter of the third century (plate 21). It would later also house his wife and other members of his family. In both the third century and the early twelfth century very few people would have been able to afford a monument of such magnitude and beauty. The sculptural motifs were classical—among them, eight muses, which surrounded the person

⁹ See the analysis of Gandolfo, "Simbolismo Antiquario e Potere Papale," pp. 18–21.

¹⁰ S. Löwenfeld, "Kleinere Beiträge. 2. Ueber Anaclets Persönlichkeit," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11 (1885–86), 569–597.

¹¹ E. g. when Paschal left Rome for Apulia in 1108 he left the bishop of Lavicanus, Petrus Leonis and Leo Frangipani in care of Rome. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 299.

¹² Ordericus Vitalis records a poem he wrote in 1099 on the death of Urban II. A satire written as a memorial to the antipope, Guibert of Ravenna, shows his acquaintance with classical literature: "You were an empty name: for that presumption Cerberus keeps a place for you in hell." *The Ecclesiastic History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, New York, 1969–1978), vol. 5, pp. 192–195.

¹³ Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 5, pp. 97–169 for S. Paulo.

for whom the sarcophagus was originally made, and scenes of Marsia supplicating Apollo.¹⁴ The cover, which did not belong to the original sarcophagus, took the form of a head, on the sides of which were reliefs of the heads of Medusa. A rectangular plaque on one side reveals the Pierleoni's special devotion to Peter and Paul:

Te Petrus et Paulus con
servent Petre Leonis
Dent animam celo quos
Tam devotus amasti
Et quibus est idem tumu
lus sit gloria tecum

May Peter and Paul preserve you, Petrus Leonis;
May they, whom you have loved so devotedly
Give your soul to heaven;
and may those who share this tomb with you
share your glory.

On the side of the sepulchre itself an encomium was inscribed:

Praeterit ut ventus princeps seu rex opulentus
Et nos ut fumus pulvis et umbra sumus
Tot tantisque bonis pollens Petrus ecce Leonis
Respice quam modico nunc tegitur tumulo.
Vir fuit immensus quem proles gloria census
Sustulit in vita non sit ut alter ita.
Legum servator patriae decus. Urbis amator
extruxit celsis turribus astra poli
Omnia praeclara mors obtenebravit amara.
Nominis ergo Dei gratia parcat ei
Iunius in mundo fulgebat sole secundo
Separat hunc nobis cum polus atque lapis.¹⁵

¹⁴ The contrast between this sarcophagus and those of Innocent II and Anastasius IV is indicative of their difference in orientation. Whereas Petrus identified with the classical world, they emphasized the imperial. See ch. 13, ns. 19–22. Although Panvinus reports that Anaclet was buried in St. Peter's, it is doubtful that his successors would have allowed his sepulchre to remain there. *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 359: "Urbanus II. gallus qui obiit anno MIC, iacet prope oratorium Hadriani papae in eleganti sepulcro. Anacletus II. romanus antipapa, qui obiit Romae an. MCXXXIX. Eugenius III. pisanus . . ." Accurate or not, the report is nevertheless intriguing, and may reflect an identification of Anaclet with St. Peter's in people's minds.

¹⁵ Carnelio Margarini, *Inscriptiones antiquae basilicae S. Pauli ad Viam Ostiensem* (Rome, 1654), for the inscription on the cover, p. I; for a photo inscription see Angelo Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica 1 Roma*, pars I: *Inscriptiones certam temporis notam exhibentes*, pl. XXVII, #2; for the inscription on the side, Margarini, *Inscriptiones*, p. XXXXIII, #479; Ildefonso Schuster, *La Basilica e il Monastero di S. Paolo fuori le Mura* (Turin, 1929), pp. 92–94; Bloch, *Montecassino in the Middle Ages 2*, Addenda, p. 1117; Max Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage* (Berlin, 1966), p. 72, nr. 184 & tabs. 67, 107a, 136. Wegner includes a bibliography and a long description of the classical motifs. Guntram Koch with Karol Wight, *Roman Funerary Sculpture: Catalogue of the Collections*, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, CA, 1988). Koch describes a sarcophagus from the reign of Gallienus

Showing the unique position occupied by San Paulo, even though almost every association with Anaclet in Rome was destroyed after his death, Petrus Leonis' sarcophagus survived. Later it was removed from the external portico, and today it can still be seen in the cloisters. Anastasius, the abbot who had supported Anaclet, also received an honorable burial there after his death during the reign of Innocent.

Within the large, eminent family of the Pierleoni, Petrus distinguished himself from his brothers as the son worthy of the finest education and of a high position in the church. His father sent him to Paris to study with the outstanding masters who congregated there during the early twelfth century. Abelard, among them, may have been one of the young Roman's teachers, and the future Louis VI became one of his friends. His educational and cultural refinement would not be especially significant if it did not stand out in stark contrast to the background of other Romans at this time. Since Rome was almost an intellectual desert, Petrus' sojourn in France among the most learned thinkers of the time made him a *rara avis* among his contemporaries. His experiences and training as a young man account for his later sophistication and intellectual scope.¹⁶

From Paris Petrus turned south, traveling to Cluny where he became a monk, and resided until Paschal II selected him to be cardinal deacon of Saints Cosma et Damiano c.1112.¹⁷ Calixtus II promoted him to cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere on December 17, 1120.¹⁸ This promotion was a signal honor, for not only was the titular saint Calixtus, after whom Calixtus II had named himself, but also the cardinal priest of Santa Maria ranked first among the cardinal priests.¹⁹ On June 7, 1123, Calixtus confirmed the vast properties of the church, and in the same bull he

(253–260), which is very similar to that of Petrus Leonis. The Pierleoni supported the abbot of San Paulo, Anastasius. They also held two possessions on the Via Ostiense near San Paulo.

¹⁶ For the cultural situation in Rome at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth see Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* 4.1, pp. 300–305.

¹⁷ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 225.

¹⁸ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 323; *Lib. Pont. Dert.*, p. 194; Luigi Pellegrini (Mario da Bergamo), "Cardinali e Curia sotto Callisto II (1119–1124), pp. 507–556 of *Raccolta di studi in memoria de S. Mochi Onory* (Milan, 1972), p. 526 & n. 100; Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 225; Helene Tillmann, "Recherche sul collegio Cardinalizio nel sec. XII," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 26 (1972), 313–353 at pp. 323–325;

¹⁹ Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 31. Panciroli lists 28 churches of which Santa Maria was #1. "Poi non senza ragione tra questi 28 Titoli si mette nel primo luogo quello di S. Maria in Trastevere, perche sempre fu del primo Prete Cardinale, e vi haveva per sua propria habitatione un palazzo, di cui si dira alla chiesa di S. Calisto." Among the ordinations, which Calixtus made, the "Continuazione di Pietro Guglielmo" mentions only that of Petrus. *Codice Topografico* 2, ed. Valentini & Zuccetti, p. 339: "Fecit [Calixtus] ordinationes in Urbe cardinalium et episcoporum quamplures: primo domnum Petrum Leonem cardinalem Sanctae Mariae in Transtiberi, ubi oleum fluxit."

confirmed the Station on the Octave of the Nativity, i. e. the Feast of the Circumcision.²⁰

As an educated, cosmopolitan man of letters, Petrus seemed destined for a brilliant career in the church. And indeed, the prognostications were born out, for until the violent papal election of 1124 there was every indication that he was set on a course which would make him one of the strongest contenders for the papal throne. Paschal II was his patron, and Gelasius II included him among his few companions when he fled to France. Calixtus used him for important and sensitive diplomatic assignments in France and England, and showered him with honors in Rome.²¹ Even Honorius was not openly hostile to him, leaving Petrus free to continue to exercise the prerogatives of his cardinalate dignity until the cataclysm of 1130.

Many scholars understandably see the reasons for Anaclet's rejection by the international church as ideological, for almost to a man, the leaders of the new reform opposed him. I suggest, however, that Innocent and Anaclet both embraced the tenets of the new reform, and that those leaders opposed him for other reasons.²² Anaclet set the tone for his reign by naming himself after a pope of the paleochristian church, whose name evoked powerful associations. An Athenian, Anaclet I came from the East like Christ's other original apostles.²³ Some scholars believe that Anaclet II chose his name on the basis of three forged letters in the

²⁰ Ulysse Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II 2, 1122–1124* (Paris, 1891), nr. 408, p. 210; Galletti, *Chartular S. Mariae Transtiberim*, Vat. Lat. 8051, pt. I, An. 1024–1435, fols. 26–28. Calixtus emphasizes his closeness to Petrus; fol. 26: "illis tamen personis que nostro lateri specialiori familiaritate adherent et ecclesiis que infra nostram Romanam a Deo protectam et pre omnibus exaltatam urbem sunt, propensiori nos convenit affectionis studio imminere." Calixtus also stresses his own identification with the church; fol. 27: Ob maiorem preterea vestre ecclesie dignitatem et beatissimi Callixti pape et martiris reverentiam cuius sacro corpore idem locus habetur insignis et cuius nomine nos licet indigni eius successores fungimur, preter illas duas stationes, quarum unam infra quadragesima et aliam in proxima dominica post festivitatem ipsius beati Callixti habetur, terciam stationem in Dominice nativitatibus octavis, a nobis solemniter institutam, vobis deinceps per nostram nostrorumque successorum presentiam celebrandam concedimus." *Necrologium ecclesiae S. Mariae trans Tiberim*, ed. Pietro Egidi, *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia di Roma I Necrologi della città di Roma* (Rome, 1908), pp. 88–89; Dale Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere from its founding to 1215* (diss. New York University, 1975), pp. 198–204; Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, pp. 14–15.

²¹ The reports about Petrus written before the schism contrast greatly with those written thereafter. E. g. in the brief biography of Calixtus in the *Liber Floridus*, ed. Derolez, p. 375: "Anno domini MCXXI, VIII id. Iunii, Petrus cardinalis, Petri prefecti filius, ad Sanctum Audomarum uenit. Quem canonici in refectorio suo biduo retinentes, transiuit Angliam legationem Calixti papae Henrico regi deferens."

²² This is the thesis I argue in *The Jewish Pope*; see Pier Fausto Palumbo's latest analysis of the papal schism; *Alessandro III^o: commemorazione tenuta il ottobre 1981 nell'VIII^o centenario della morte in Civita Castellana*, con un'appendice su: "Le doppie elezioni del 1130 e del 1159 e il giudizio di Alessandro III^o e della sua età sullo scisma precedente." *Quaderni di "Storia e Civiltà"*, 1985.

²³ *Lib. Pont.* 1, p. 125.

Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were influential on canonists in the twelfth century. In these letters Anaclet I appeared mainly as a glorifier of the Roman church on which all other churches depend.²⁴ However, in the popular mind Anaclet I was associated with St. Peter. All sources agree that he set up the *memoria* of St. Peter, and was buried next to the founder of the church.²⁵ According to at least one source, he performed this act of love while still a priest, and Peter's disciple.²⁶ His biography also stresses his ties with the original apostles.

Writing in the sixteenth century Panvinus notes that in the *Vita S. Hermetis* Gratian, a protonotarius of the Holy Roman Church under Pope Alexander, also describes Anaclet I as the creator of the *memoria* of St. Peter. In addition Gratian credits Anaclet I with instituting the practice whereby bishops who receive their ordinations from the Holy See, and who live in the vicinity of Rome, should present themselves *ad limina* each year on the ides of May. This was an important tradition, for when Panvinus mentions all of the reasons why St. Peter's was superior to the Lateran, the *visita ad limina* was among them.²⁷

²⁴ Paul Hinschius, ed., *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 66–75.

²⁵ Panvinus, *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 214: "Lini, Cleti, Anacleti, Evaristi, Xysti, Telesphori, Hygini, Pii, Eleutheri, Victoris, et aliorum innumerabilium martyrum ossa prope sancti Petri corpus iacuisse refert Damasus papa." p. 115: "Hoc coemeterium, oratorium, confessionem, memoriam, sive universali nomine ecclesiam . . . a sancto Anacleto papa Petri apostoli discipulo constructum, exaedificatum, et exornatum fuisse tradit his verbis in eius vita Damasus papa: . . . Ex quibus verbis intelligimus fuisse oratorium illud vel coemeterium, vel ecclesiam constructam ab Anacleto cum adhuc esset presbyter;" p. 216: "Anacletus papa Cleti successor apud Gratianum distinct. XCIII.4. 'Iuxta sanctorum patrum . . .'" p. 217: "Id quod intelligi de Pontifice nullo modo potest, cum Anacletus discrete dicat: omnes episcopi sanctorum principum Petri et Pauli circa idus maii annue liminibus praesententur." Alpharatus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae Structura*, intro., pp., XXVIII–XXIX, Appendix 21, p. 161, taken from Arch. capit., G5, p. 127: "Constantinus Imperator piissimus Apostolorum Petri et Pauli monitu ad fidem Xri conversus et a B. Sylvestro Pape salutari lavacro a lepra mundatus, Deo gratias acturus ad confessionem B. Petri in Vaticano Anacleto exstructam proposuit ubi ipse Apostolus pro fidei confessione Cruci affixus fuerat atque sepultus et iuxta eum decem alii sancti pontifices eius successores seputli fuere, ante quam prostratus multis lachrimis veniam postulavit." Ibid., p. 7: "Sed absis Basilicae. . . altare maius erectum fuerat, eo loci ubi Beatus Petrus, Christi Vicarius et Apostolorum Princeps, Cruci affixus fuerat atque sepultus, et iuxta eum decem eius sancti successores; quod quidem altare nullus unquam summorum Pontificum ausus est aperire, vel a proprio loco remove, scientes antiquissimam, venerandamque Petri Sedem insimul et sepulcrum extitisse et successorum eius, ut ex Anacleto Papa inrefragabiliter colligitur." p. 31: "et Sanctus Anacletus papa, qui fuit III post beatum Petrum praedictam beati Petri Confessionem in parvae ecclesiae formam aedificavit et exornavit et eamque ab omnibus Episcopis singulis annis visitari mandavit; instituitque locum ubi Romani Pontifices prope beati Petri sepulcrum sepelirentur." Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 523.

²⁶ Giovanni Severano, *Memorie Sacre delle Sette Chiese di Roma* 1 (Rome, 1630), p. 23: "Sopra il quale [coemeterium fontis S. Petri], e particolarmente sopra il corpo di S. Pietro, edificio Anacleto suo discepolo, mentre era Prete una Memoria cive (sic) una cappelletta, che si chiamo poi insieme con un'altra simile edificata sopra il corpo di S. Paolo, Trofei de gl'Apostoli."

²⁷ *Schedae de Ecclesiis Urbis Romae*, Vat. Lat. 6780, fols. 323r, 324r–324v, 343v.

These associations were in the public mind at the time of the schism. In 1112 following the Lateran council of March and the Council of Vienne of September Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, mentions Anaclet I in a letter to Archbishop John of Lyons. The subject concerns Paschal's concession of imperial rights over investitures following the interrupted coronation of Henry V in February 1111, and Paschal's own capture. Daimbert states that Clement and Anaclet I were in concord with the resolution of the second council of Nicaea that the privileges to churches be preserved. He further states that the two later ordained apostles in cities where there were *primae sedes* or metropolitans.²⁸ The Chronicle of Vulturno, likewise states that Anaclet decreed that the privileges of churches should remain inviolate for all time.²⁹ Twelfth-century pilgrims' guides emphasize Anaclet I's associations with St. Peter.³⁰ Thus, by choosing the name of "Anaclet", Anaclet II identified himself with a pope whose distinguished record was still in the public consciousness, and who was especially identified with St. Peter.

Scholars have examined Anaclet's famous fresco in the apse of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace to see how it reveals his attitudes on ecclesiastical reform and the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, but on the whole they have neglected other art associated with him in Rome. By observing the whole panoply, or at least that part of it which does not remain concealed from us, one can see that Anaclet's conception of the papacy appears to concord with the views of St. Bernard. Ironically, Anaclet rather than Innocent, the pope for whom Bernard fought so passionately, may have been the saint's ideological ally.

A. SAN NICOLA IN CARCERE

The Pierleoni dominated the region around the Theater of Marcellus by controlling key junctures. They commanded the entry to Trastevere by

²⁸ Mansi 21:79: "ita ut secundum Nicaenas regulas sua privilegia servantur ecclesiis. Huic sententiae concordant Clemens & Anacletus, qui post apostolos ordinarunt in quibus civitatibus essent primae sedes, in quibus metropolitanae."

²⁹ *Chronicon Vulturnense*, Barb. Lat. 2724, fol. 22v: "Anacletus Atheninensis. . . . Iste constituit ut privilegia ecclesiarum inviolata perpetuis maneant temporibus." Cf. Mansi 1:605.

³⁰ Grimaldi mentions a guide which states: "confessio et memoria Sancti Petri dicebatur primum Beatus Anacletus papa ornavit", and that later Anaclet was buried next to St. Peter. Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 268r; see also the inscription in the *confessio*, fol. 253v: "Sanctus. Anacletus. Papa. et. Martyr. Memoriam. B. Petri. Primus. construxit. Confessionem. Appelatum." See also Grimaldi, Vat. Lat. 11988, fol. 163r: [rubric] "Instructio pro pelegrinis ad sacram confessionem . . . primum beatus Anacletus papa ornavit . . . in quo etiam decem Pontifices eius [St. Peter] successores prope ipsum sepultus sunt, videlicet Linus, Cletus, ipse Anacletus. . . . sicut & hodie conveniunt [Christians] ut sepulchrum Principis Apostolorum summa religione ac pietate venerentur, ubi etiam multa & magna miracula saepius Deus ostendit."

controlling the Jews' bridge leading to the island in the Tiber, and their fortress in the Theater of Marcellus enabled them to control the western approach to the Capitoline.³¹ Standing next to the old theater San Nicola in Carcere was constructed out of the ruins of three temples.³² The church was so closely associated with the family that it was known as their church. Gregory VII is reported to have spent part of his life in one of their houses located close by, and Urban II died in the "domo Petris Leonis" identified with San Nicola.³³ He was buried in St. Peter's, and the description of his tomb as *satis pulchrum* implies that it was more than a simple sepulchre.³⁴ Given the circumstances before his death, where he was "scarcely sustained from the snares of his enemies," and was supported by the charity of Roman matrons and poor women, the Pierleoni must have donated his sepulchre.³⁵

³¹ For the Pierleoni family see Pietro Fedele, "Le Famiglie di Anacleto II ed Gelasio II. Pt. I. La famiglia di Anacleto II," *Archivio della R. Società di Storia Patria* 27 (1904), 400–433; Demetrius B. Zema, "The Houses of Tuscany and of the Pierleoni in the Crisis of Rome in the Eleventh Century," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 155–175.

³² The *Graphia Aureae Urbis*, almost certainly written by Petrus Diaconus, mentions the church. The *Mirabilia* does not, but it does mention Innocent's cardinalate church, St. Angelo. *Mirabilia*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, #30, pp. 62–63: "In Alephanto templum Sibillae, et templum Ciceronis in Tulliano, et templum Iovis, ubi fuit pergula aurea, et templum Severianum, ubi est Sanctus Angelus." *Graphia*, *ibid.* #38, p. 94: "In Elephanto templum Sibillae, et templum Ciceronis ubi nunc est domus filiorum Petri Leonis. Ibi est carcer Tullianus, ubi est ecclesia Sancti Nicholae."

Note that the *Graphia* mentions the Pierleoni houses, whereas in the comparable place the *Mirabilia* does not. By contrast the *Mirabilia* mentions the tower of the Frangipani, and the *Graphia* omits the whole section mentioning this tower. *Mirabilia*, #24, p. 56: "templum Iani . . . nunc autem dicitur turris Centii Fraiapanis." This orientation suggests that Petrus Diaconus slanted the *Graphia* to support the Pierleoni. For evidence that Petrus Diaconus wrote the *Graphia* see Herbert Bloch, "Der Autor der 'Graphia aureae urbis Romae,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 40 (1984), 55–176. Bloch (p. 94) argues that as the compiler Petrus himself wrote the introduction and the *Graphia-Libellus*, and that he modified and added interpolations at will to the middle section of the *Mirabilia*. See also Giovanni Battista Proja, *San Nicola in Carcere*, nr. 112 of *Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate* (Istituto di Studi Romani, 1981); Alfonso Bartoli, "I Templi del Foro Olitoria e la Diaconis di S. Nicola 'in Carcere,'" *Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 5 (1926/27), 213–226.

³³ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 294: "Qui Christi confessor at bonus Christi atleta apud sanctum Nicolaum in Carcere, in domo Petri Leonis, 1111 Kl. aug. animam Deo reddidit." See also n. 14 above.

³⁴ Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 394: "Iuxta huius [Hadriani] oratorium est sepulchrum domni Urbani II papae, satis pulchrum in Vaticano." See also Alpharatus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae*, p. 42; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 97.

³⁵ See the biographies of Gelasius written by Pandulfus. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 311; *Lib. Pont. Dert.*, p. 163: "Ecce domnus Urbanus, primum Hostiensis episcopus, postea papa Romanus, qui, ueluti iam dictum est, Iohannem Gaitanum acciuit, imminente persecutione alemannica in tantum miserarum per Gibertum astrictus quod, praetermissis aliis, a quondam famosissimo uiro atque illustri Petro Leone Rome in insula Licaonia, intra duos egregii Tyberis pontes, uix ab inimicorum insidiis sustentatus, matronarum romanarum et aliquando muliercularum pauperum helimosinis regebatur."

Prior to Urban's interest in San Nicola in Carcere the basilica had no known connection with St. Nicholas. Originally it had been dedicated to the Most Holy Savior, but a commemorative stone shows that during Urban's reign it was dedicated to Saint Nicholas.³⁶ Urban had especially promoted the cult of Saint Nicholas, above all by placing the saint's relics in a church in Bari, which he consecrated and dedicated to him. Urban was greatly celebrated at San Nicola in Carcere, and since his official veneration in 1881, his mass is intoned there every July 29th. The choice of St. Nicholas as the titular saint is suggestive. At the very least Urban was honoring the Pierleoni by identifying their church with the saint with whom he most associated himself. Beyond that show of respect, he may have been insinuating that just as St. Nicholas was the special protector of the clergy, so also the Pierleoni were the special protectors of the papacy.

There is another possible reason for selecting St. Nicholas as the titular saint of the Pierleoni church. The three temples out of which it was erected were located next to a public prison, and among his many attributes, St. Nicholas was the protector of the imprisoned and those unjustly condemned. This connection was commemorated as late as the sixteenth century, when the saint's statue was carried in procession on his name day, and deposited on altars set up in front of prisons, where masses were celebrated in his honor. Some time after the pontificate of Leo III (795–816), and by the time of that of Paschal II (1099–1118), San Nicola was elevated to a deaconry with the special task of caring for the needs of the prisoners. The *Liber Pontificalis* lists among the cardinal deacons who voted for Gelasius II, Paschal's successor, a Grisogonus *sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano*.³⁷ Since this statement is the first reference to San Nicola as a cardinal deaconry, it is sometimes assumed that Paschal II was the pope who promoted the church to this rank. Because of Urban II's special association both with the Pierleoni and St. Nicholas, however, it seems more probable that it was he who initiated

³⁶ The date of the foundation of the church is not known. It is not listed in the churches enumerated by Leo III, but Armellini attributes an inscription on the second column to the right as one enters listing the offerings of the majordomus, Anastasus, to the ninth century. Mariano Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal Secolo IV al XIX*, new ed. Carlo Cecchelli 2 vols. 1 (Rome, 1942), p. 770. Proja points out, however, that the column could have been brought from another edifice, and that it does not indicate that San Nicola existed in the ninth century. A donation inscribed on a rock in the right wall of the church is dated from the reign of Urban II (1088). Proja, *San Nicola in Carcere*, pp. 34–35, 38; Christian Huelsen, *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo* (Florence, 1927), p. 392; See also Duchesne's explanatory notes, *Lib. Pont.* 2, ns. 12, 13, p. 295.

³⁷ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 313; Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp. 239–40; Bartoli, "I Templi," pp. 223–25. The first cardinal, Hugo, born in Pisa, was Paschal's scriptor or chaplain. He was followed by Grisogonus with the identical background, but who also became Paschal's chancellor. Paschal demonstrated his special attachment to the church by appointing deacons, who were so close to him.

the move. He also would have had special reasons for doing so. It was one way of rewarding the Pierleoni for their solicitude, and it increased the security of the papacy by augmenting the authority of their most steadfast protectors.

The Pierleoni rebuilt San Nicola, and with Cardinal Bishop Conrad of Sabina acting in his stead, Honorius II consecrated the new church on May 12, 1128.³⁸ The act is of the utmost importance, for it shows how fluid the party allegiances were prior to the schism of 1130. Honorius contributed actively to the election of Innocent II during his dying days, and Conrad of Sabina was so close to Innocent that he functioned in his absence when the pope was in exile. The fact that the cardinal deacon of San Nicola in 1128, Johannes Dauferii, voted for Anaclet in 1130 is further evidence that the differences, which led to the contested papal election were only nascent in 1128. It suggests that in an open, legal election they might have been overcome.

The decor of the new church is iconographically very significant, because its paleochristian motifs associate its author with the ideals of the early church. It is not known whether Petrus personally had a hand in the decoration, but whoever inspired the motifs must have been an erudite cleric knowledgeable about paleochristian Rome.³⁹ The decor had a very specific didactic intent, which centered about the baptism of Christ. Some of the frescoes have been saved and are preserved in the Vatican museum, but others are known to us only through drawings and descriptions made in the eighteenth century or before. According to the description of G. M. Crescimbeni, a chapel at the left of the entry was painted with the images of four prophets—Moses, Jeremiah, Haggai, and Amos. In their midst was a scene depicting John the Baptist baptizing Christ.⁴⁰ Surrounding the setting were natural and fanciful motifs taken from the animal and vegetable world of a variety unknown elsewhere in Rome at this time.⁴¹ The figures of Christ and the prophets were encased in medallions styled directly on paleochristian models. The prophets

³⁸ The consecration stone is still embedded in the wall at the entry to the nave. Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 128; Proja, *San Nicola in Carcere*, pp. 40–41; Bartoli, "I Templi," p. 222.

³⁹ Toubert, "Renouveau Paléochrétien a Rome," p. 122.

⁴⁰ G. M. Crescimbeni, *Istoria della Basilica diaconale collegiate e parrocchiale di S. Niccolò in Carcere* (Rome, 1717); Toubert, "Renouveau Paléochrétien a Rome," p. 113; Edward B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Painting* 4 vols. (Florence, 1953–1962) vol. 3, pp. 187–189; Vincenzo Golzio & Giuseppe Zander, *Le Chiese di Roma dal XI al XVI Secolo*, vol. 4 of *Roma Christiana*, ed. Carlo Galassi Paluzzi (Bologna, 1963), pp. 19, 22, 44, 51; L. Magnani, "Frammenti di affreschi medioevali di S. Nicola in Carcere nella Pinocoteca Vaticana," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 8 (1931–32), 233–247.

⁴¹ Toubert, "Renouveau Paléochrétien a Rome," p. 114.

carried phylacteries with inscriptions bearing testimony that their prophesy had been realized in the coming of Christ as revealed in the baptismal scene.

The focus on the baptismal scene may be explained by the role, which San Nicola played in the liturgical year. According to the list of stations which Petrus Mallius recorded in the twelfth century, there was a station at San Nicola on the Saturday before Easter.⁴² The objective of the service was to prepare the catechumens for the sacrament of baptism, which they would receive during the solemn ceremony on Holy Saturday. Thus, San Nicola was the theater for a service totally inspired by the idea of baptism. Since local associations influenced the selection of a particular church as a station, one can at least speculate that in the case of San Nicola there may have been a connection between the focus on baptism and the Pierleoni family, whose baptism into Christianity critically changed their destiny.

Anaclet's family is also known to have patronized at least one other church near San Nicolo in Carcere. Santa Maria in Portico, the modern St. Galla, probably received its name from its proximity to the Portico of Ottavia, the daughter of Augustus and the mother of Marcellus. Porticoes were frequently constructed near open theaters, so that the patrons would have a shelter in case of rain. In this case it was the Theater of Marcellus, and the portico was the one in which St. Angelo—Innocent's church—was built. Between the churches of Santa Maria in Portico and San Nicola in Carcere was a statue of God (or the day, *il di*), high above the ruins, and covered with marble and travertine. Papal processions from the Lateran to St. Peter's crossed before the *Porticum Gallatorum*, which has been identified with the Portico Ottavia.⁴³

Gregory VII consecrated the church on July 8, 1073, and since on that date he had been pope for only three months, the church indubitably already was standing, in all probability built by the Pierleoni. In the seventeenth century there were still traces of an old chapel built by the family, and dedicated to the Assumption. Within the chapel stood an

⁴² Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. Valentini e Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 439–41: "De Stationibus Romani Pontificis in Festivitatibus et in Quadragesima . . . Sabato ad Sanctum Nicolaum in Carcere. Dominica de Passione ad Sanctum Petrum." Hartmann Grisar, "Die Stationen und ihre Perikopen im römischen Missale," *Miscellanea Francesco Ebrle*, II, Studi e Testi 38, pp. 101–140, (Rome, 1924), pp. 105–106; for Grisar's analysis of the station at San Nicola, pp. 109–110.

⁴³ Carlo Antonio Erra, *Storia dell'immagine e chiesa di Santa Maria in Portico di Campitelli* (Rome, 1750), p. 26. On p. 24 Erra explains that the church was called S. Maria in Portico because of its proximity to the celebrated porticus of Octavia. Augustus built the porticus near the theater of Marcellus not only to serve as a shelter in case of rain, but also as a place for such ceremonial occasions as audiences with ambassadors and weddings. The area was identified with Vergil, and esp. Book 6.

ancient tomb bearing the inscription: FIRMIANI DE PERLEONIBUS.⁴⁴ But in spite of the connection of the Pierleoni with the church, Romano, its cardinal deacon at the time of the schism followed Innocent, and is last heard of in 1134.⁴⁵ Whatever his reasons for supporting Innocent were, the involvement of the Pierleoni with his church before the schism appears to indicate that the hostilities commenced only at the time of the papal elections.

What is beyond speculation, however, is that the Pierleoni patronized the finest and most knowledgeable artists, and that they promoted the revival of paleochristian art in Rome. This conscious identification implied an adherence to the ideals of the early church. It was a theme which was to pervade other works of art which Anaclet inspired.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 30; Erra describes what was found when Leo X rebuilt the church: "La nobilissima, e potentissima Famiglia de Pierleoni aveva pure in questa Chiesa una Cappella dedicata all'Assunta, la quale fu levata in questi tempi con occasione de fare diverse riparazioni; e inoltre vi possedeva un Sepolcro con questa iscrizione. *Firmiiani de Perleoniibus*." Joan Barklay Lloyd, "The Medieval Church of S. Maria in Portico in Rome," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Kunde und Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1981), 95-107 at pp. 102-104.

⁴⁵ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp. 236-237.

Chapter 8

PAPAL THRONES AND THE APSE FRESCO IN SAN LORENZO IN LUCINA

The shape and decoration of papal thrones associated with Anaclet reveal his vision of the papacy, just as the throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin reflected Calixtus' imperial aspirations. The contrast between the imitation of Solomon's throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and Anaclet's austere simple thrones in San Clemente and San Lorenzo in Lucina provides physical evidence of the difference in the two popes' conception of the papal office. While the throne of Calixtus symbolized a majestic papacy, those of Anaclet diffused an empathy with the ideals of the apostolic tradition.¹

A. THE PAPAL THRONE OF SAN CLEMENTE

The barely defined nimbus of the plain throne in San Clemente bears almost no resemblance to its imposing counterpart in Santa Maria in Cosmedin (plate 22). In San Clemente there is no porphyry and there are no mosaics; there is only an inscription etched along the rim declaring that "Anastasius Cardinal Priest of the Title began and completed this work."² Along the right side of the back in gigantic capital letters placed on their sides, and verticle to the floor, is written "MARTYR". The back of the chair was taken from a piece of marble bearing this inscription originating in the pontificate of Pope Siricius (384–399), and retrieved from the lower basilica of San Clemente.³ The use of the old marble identifies the throne with the early traditions of the church, and the great care taken in preserving the word, "MARTYR" substantiates the clear

¹ Gandolfo observes the abandonment of the lay symbolism exhibited by Calixtus in favor of the ecclesiastic symbolism based upon paleochristian ideals. "Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale," pp. 18–19.

² Giuseppe Gatti, "Di un nuovo monumento epigrafico relativo alla basilica de S. Clemente," *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, ser. 3 (1889), 467–474 at p. 471; Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 4, p. 49, n. 124; Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp. 161–162; Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di sculture," p. 208; Leonard Boyle, *A Short Guide to St. Clement's—Rome* (1982), pp. 26–27; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 1, pp. 118–136.

³ G. B. De Rossi, "I monumenti scoperti sotto la basilica di S. Clemente situati nella loro successione stratigrafica e cronologica," Parte seconda: "Dati cronologici e storici circa i monumenti stratificati nel sito della basilica di S. Clemente," *Bullettino di archeologia Christiana* ser. 2 (1870), pp. 146–149.

intention of identifying the throne with the eponymous saint of the church.

Although the Anastasius whom the inscription declares to have begun and completed the throne died in 1125, it is nevertheless probable that the throne was constructed immediately after the beginning of the papal schism. In an ingenious piece of detective work Francesco Gandolfo demonstrates almost conclusively that the inscription was only a ruse to hide the fact that one of Anaclet's supporters had remodeled the church, including the papal throne.⁴ Starting from the premise that it would make no sense to state that Anastasius began and completed the throne if the inscription were written during his lifetime, and referred only to the throne, Gandolfo looked for clues revealing who in fact did remodel the basilica.

He noted from fragments of an epitaph on a tomb of a certain Petrus found in the eighteenth century that while Anastasius was dying, he handed over the task of completing the rebuilding of San Clemente to this same Petrus.⁵ Hubertus was the actual successor of Anastasius, but he was a loyal supporter of Innocent, presumably followed him into exile, and was appointed archbishop of Pisa in 1133.⁶ Thus, Gandolfo reasoned, the person left to finish Anastasius' decoration and furnishing of San Clemente was the otherwise unidentified Petrus. He then deduced that of the four cardinals named Petrus at that time—all of them supporters of Anaclet—Peter of Pisa would have been the only one deemed worthy by Innocent's successors of such an honorable burial. Under the influence of

⁴ Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di sculture," pp. 210–211.

⁵ Hoc Petrus tumulo clauditur in Domino
Cepit Anastasius que cernis templa Clementis
Et moriens curam detulit huius operis
que quia finivit post vite funera vivit
Cui dum vivebat subditus orbis erat
Post mortem carnis dabitur tibi gloria carnis
sanctis indicis vivificante Deo

Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting* 1, p. 6–7; Garrison also identifies the "Petrus" in the inscription with Peter of Pisa. Garrison wrestled with the meaning of the inscription on the papal throne and its significance for the date of the apse mosaic and the rebuilding of the church. In his final treatment of the problem in vol. 4 in a ch. entitled, "Rome, S. Clemente, again," pp. 211–217 he concludes: "On account of its unusual, its equivocal position, the throne inscription must remain of uncertain reference." See also G. B. De Rossi, "I monumenti scoperti sotto la basilica di S. Clemente," p. 122; Edoardo Junyent, "Il titolo di San Clemente in Roma," *Studi di antichità cristiana* 6 (Rome, 1932), 5–230, at p. 188; Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* 18:451 speaks of the destruction of references to Anaclet: "Sed et imitatione praedecessorum, praesertim vero Callixti Secundi, qui plura in Urbe consecravat altaria, ipse voluit eadem laude digna peragere. Dedicata namque legimus Romae nonnulla ab eo et consecrata fuisse altaria et aediorum incuria servatas adhuc inscriptiones, quas delendas curavimus, . . ." Wilhelm Bernhardt, *Lothar von Supplinburg* (Berlin, 1879, new ed. 1975), n. 95 p. 323.

⁶ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 162.

St. Bernard in the tribunal held before Roger II of Sicily in 1137 to determine whether Innocent or Anaclet should be recognized as pope, Peter had switched his allegiance to Innocent. Although Innocent deposed Peter along with all of the other cardinals who had followed Anaclet in the Lateran Council of 1139, St. Bernard held that this harsh treatment betrayed the pope's promise. Celestine II agreed, and after Innocent's death Peter was reinstated in his cardinalate dignity in good grace.

If Peter of Pisa, an eminent theologian and expert on canon law, did create the throne, what then was its symbolic intent? First of all, its ostentatious inclusion of "MARTYR" identifies the throne with St. Clement. This identification is reinforced by the life of St. Peter in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where it states that St. Peter consecrated St. Clement as bishop and committed to him the "cathedram vel ecclesiam omnem disponendum . . ." ⁷ Moreover, St. Peter admonished Clement to involve himself as little as possible in secular affairs, and counseled him instead to concentrate on preaching to the people. This was the maxim which the symbolism of the throne transmitted.

Gandolfo argued that the throne was designed to associate Anaclet with St. Peter and St. Clement. As evidence, he adduced a letter, which in the twelfth century was thought to have been written by St. Clement to James, the brother of Jesus, but which in fact may contain interpolations of Isadore Mercator or an earlier authority on whom he relied.⁸ In this letter Clement is supposed to be relating what St. Peter said to his companions, who had gathered around him when he was about to die. St. Peter reputedly stated that he was going to ordain Clement as bishop, and to hand over to him alone his chair of preaching and of doctrine. Clement claims that he then fell to his feet and begged Peter to allow him to decline the honor. Peter refused, Clement laments, declaring that his chair did not need someone who desired it and audaciously sought after it, but required one of good character and erudition.

Gandolfo believes that Peter of Pisa seized upon this phrase as a characterization both of Innocent and of Anaclet. In Peter's eyes Innocent's hasty and illegal election indicated that he desired, and brazenly sought the throne, and that for this reason he was unworthy of it. By contrast, Peter was convinced that Anaclet distinguished himself by his fine character and erudition, and that accordingly, he was worthy of the

⁷ *Lib. Pont.* 1, p. 118.

⁸ S. Clementis I *Epistola ad Jacobum fratrem Domini*, PG 1:464-465; see also Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* 1, n. 11, p. 119.

throne. This reconstruction of Peter of Pisa's reasoning convinced Gandolfo that he must have been the Peter who created the throne, and that he did it for Anaclet. As clinching evidence, Gandolfo points out, only a few years previously Leo of Ostia had revised the list of the order of popes, and in the new order Clement directly followed St. Peter. It is no accident, he observes, that Anaclet chose as his namesake the pope immediately following Clement, for in so doing he directly associated himself with the tradition of Anaclet I's predecessors.

Gandolfo's reasoning is clever, if not conclusive. The charge of seeking the throne could apply to Anaclet as well as to Innocent, for Anaclet's opponents accused him of this very ambition. Moreover, we do not know what Hubertus had to do with the conception of the furnishings unfinished at the time of Anastasius' death. Hubertus was in Rome or the environs in 1126, and again from December 1128–1129, in which year he became legate to Spain.⁹ There are, however, responses to both objections. In answer to the first, the remark about coveting the throne would only have been applicable after the papal elections of 1130, and at that time Hubertus had accompanied Innocent into exile. In answer to the second, we know that Anastasius handed over the completion of the furnishings of the basilica to a Peter, not to Hubertus. Thus, Gandolfo's argument not only holds up, but is further strengthened by the remarkable resemblance between the throne at San Clemente and that at San Lorenzo in Lucina, which almost certainly is associated with Anaclet.

B. THE PAPAL THRONE AT SAN LORENZO IN LUCINA

One of the fascinations of twelfth-century scholarship is the unraveling of the many mysteries produced by inadequate or conflicting sources. They particularly abound in the reign of Anaclet, for the victors in the schism used all of their wiles to conceal the antipope's authorship of anything he inspired or with which he was associated. The fresco in the apse of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace is the most flagrant case, but the deception devised to mislead posterity from knowing who made the papal throne in San Lorenzo in Lucina is just as clever.

In 1675 San Lorenzo was remodeled, and the twelfth-century papal throne was hidden behind a door in the choir (plate 23). It still remains there like a secret treasure, visible only to the cognoscenti who have knowledge of its existence behind the door.¹⁰ For this reason scholars,

⁹ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 162.

¹⁰ Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di sculture," pp. 211–218; F. Grossi Gondi, "La confessio dell'altare e la cattedra papale a S. Lorenzo in Lucina," *Studi Romani* 1 (1913), 53–62; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 2, pp. 161–186.

including Forcella, have overlooked the throne and the interesting inscription etched on its back. The inscription was published in 1675, and is transcribed by F. Grossi Gondi in his article on the ancient altar and papal throne in San Lorenzo.¹¹ It states that on the sixth Kalends of February, i.e. January 27, 1112, in the reign of Paschal II the grate on which San Lorenzo was martyred along with two ampules of his blood were taken from an old altar in San Lorenzo. After being on display for a few days, Leo, cardinal bishop of Ostia, placed these relics under this new altar on the *Nono Kalendas Februarii*, i.e. January 24th.¹²

There are two anomalies in this inscription. One is that it states that the relics were preserved *sub hoc novo altari*. The throne, of course, was a throne, not an altar, and as Grossi Gondi points out, the major altar was not even close to the throne. He argues, however, that at one time the altar was in fact so close to the throne that its proximity justified the expression "under this new altar."¹³ The other discrepancy is the dating. Since relics put on display for a few days on January 27, 1112 could not be redeposited on January 24th, there is a mistake in the inscription. Either the engraver simply reversed the dates, or there is some other explanation.

To solve the puzzle Gandolfo investigated the other inscriptions in San Lorenzo written in the twelfth century. But first he asked how Paschal, who was involved with the beginning of the rebuilding of San Lorenzo, could have been present at its culmination—the consecration of the major altar. He doubts that Paschal could have been, and notes that even the inscription limits his contribution only to the first phase—the extraction of the relics from the old altar. Then, the inscription states that Leo of Ostia rather than the pope—another anomaly—encased them under the new altar, presumably during the act of consecration. Gandolfo observes that the part of the inscription recording Leo's participation corresponds with another inscription in the portico of the church, which declares that Leo of Ostia consecrated an altar on that date.¹⁴ But

¹¹ Vincenzo Guizzardi, *Breve Relazione delle Sacre Reliquie de'sancti che si conservano nell'antichissima Chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Lucina di Roma de Padre Chierici Regolari Minori* (Rome, 1675), p. 25; Grossi Gondi, "La confessio," n. 3, pp. 53–56.

¹² Grossi Gondi, "La confessio," p. 56: "Tempo/ re Domni Pas/calis II Pape Anno/ Eius XIII Millesimo/ Centesimo XII Indictione/ V. VI Kalendas Februarii P(er) Manus Eiusdem Pontificis/ Craticula Super Quam Pro/cul dubio Beatus Laurenti/us Emisit Spiritum/ De Quoda(m) Altari Veteri Educta est Cu(m)/ Duab(us) Ampullis Vitreis Me/diis Sanguine Eiusdem/ Martiris. Qu(a)e Cum Nonnullis Dieb(us) Videretur/ A Romano Populo Coram/ Eius Multitudine P(er) Ma/nus Leonis Hostiensis Ep(iscop)i Sub hoc novo Altari Nono/ K(a)l(endas) Februarii Recondita Est."

¹³ *Ibid.*, 58–61.

¹⁴ Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica 1 Roma*, pars. I: *Inscriptiones certam temporis notam exhibentes* Tab. XXII, 2; Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 5, p. 118, nr. 341; Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di Sculture," p. 212.

Gandolfo notices that the relics listed on that inscription do not correspond to those on the papal throne. From this fact he deduces that the altar Leo of Ostia consecrated was not the major altar.

Another inscription in the portico confirms this conclusion, he believes. This one is dated from the reign of Gelasius II, and therefore from 1118–1119. It lists the relics transferred in various epochs in the church as recorded by a priest named Benedetto.¹⁵ The first transference listed goes back to October 15, 1112 in the reign of Paschal II, when relics were brought to San Lorenzo from S. Stefano *quae dicitur Aqua Transversa*. Paschal ordered *ut in maiori altari sancti Laurentii in sepulchro sub craticula conderentur*. Since the relics named in the altar consecrated by Leo of Ostia on January 24th of the same year do not include the relics of San Lorenzo, Gandolfo concludes that the altar Leo consecrated could not possibly have been the major altar.

A fourth epigraph, however, does record the relics cited on the papal throne. This inscription, now located in the portico, commemorates Anacleto's consecration of the church on May 25, 1130.¹⁶ It records that on this occasion two ampules of St. Lorenzo's blood were placed *ex novo* in the major altar. Also mentioned *hoc in domate* was the grate on which St. Lorenzo was martyred. The church was consecrated again in 1196 under the reign of Celestine III, and as Gandolfo perceptively points out, in the inscription commemorating this consecration only two ampules of blood are listed, not the four which presumably should have been if those inscribed on the back of the throne were added to those which Anacleto interred *ex novo* in 1130.¹⁷

Gandolfo's explanation for this new riddle added to the previous two makes sense. He notes that in the Lateran Council of 1139 Innocent declared all of Anacleto's consecrations to be null and void.¹⁸ Further, he believes that it is impossible to imagine that the church did not function

¹⁵ Ibid., Tab. XXII, 3; Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 5, p. 118, nr. 342.

¹⁶ Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 5, p. 119; Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae*. Tabulae in usum Scholarum 4 (Bonn, 1912), n. 45, b, p. XXIX; Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 44. Alphonsus Ciaconius, *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et SRE Cardinalium* (Rome, 1677), col. 1007: "Anno Domini millesimo centesimo trigesimo: Anno vero Domini Anacleti Secundi Papae primo, Indictione octava menso Maio, die vigesima quinta dedicata est haec Ecclesia B. Laurentij, et in maiori Altari per manus eiusdem Pontificis recondita sunt corpora sanctorum martyrum Alexandri Papae, Evertij, Theoduli, & Severinae, & vestis sancti Syxti martyris, et Pontificis & duae ampulae vitreae cum sanguine, & adipe beatissimi, & gloriosissimi martiris Laurentij." Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 2, pp. 161–186; p. 163 for the consecration of the altar.

¹⁷ Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 5, p. 119, nr. 344; Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di Sculture," pp. 212–214.

¹⁸ Mansi 21:535, from Innocent's sermon recorded *ex chronico Mauriniacensi*: "Unde quia inordinatae personae inordinata sunt decreta, quodcumque ille statuerat, destruimus; quoscumque exaltaverat, degradamus; & quotquot consecraverat, exordinamus & depouimus".

between 1130 and 1196 because of the invalid consecration of 1130. What probably happened, he reasons, is that the church was reconsecrated immediately after Anaclet's condemnation in the Lateran Council, and that the recollection of Anaclet's consecration was totally obliterated. Rather than acknowledging that the relics of St. Lorenzo had been placed in the major altar in 1130, an engraver was commissioned to forge the inscription on the papal throne attributing their placement to Leo of Ostia in the reign of Paschal. Presumably the inscription recording Anaclet's consecration was hidden, and only later retrieved and placed in the portico when the issue was no longer considered to be significant. Gandolfo easily resolved the problem of the dates. He reasons that the engraver accurately recorded the date of Leo's consecration, but that he did not know the dating system. Mixing in the Roman calendar's progressive chronology to make the reinterment of the relics three days after the viewing, he instead produced a date three days before.¹⁹

The only quibble I have with Gandolfo's argument is his suggestion that the church was reconsecrated after the Lateran Council of 1139. If that were so, a stone commemorating that consecration would have been inscribed, and there would have been no need to predate the event to the reign of Paschal in 1112. I suggest that rather than reconsecrating the church, it was decided to use the already existing inscriptions to date the event to Leo of Ostia's consecration of an altar in 1112. This is why the forger incorporated the expression, *sub hoc altare*. By blending in the transference of St. Lorenzo's relics with past inscriptions there was no need to acknowledge that Anaclet had ever had anything to do with the church.

The thrones of San Lorenzo and San Clemente bear many resemblances, the most perspicuous of which are the apparently forged inscriptions on each of their backs to blot out Anaclet's involvement. Once this deception is revealed, the backs yield an entirely different sort of message. Their barely adumbrated nimbi along with the severely austere shape of the rest of the throne imply an affinity with the pre Constantinian popes, the pastoral successors of Peter rather than the worldly rulers of Christendom. One further element of design associates the throne of San Lorenzo with the paleochristian church. Its arms are cut from the same piece of marble, which in about the second century had been carved into scenes of the vine and harvesting of the grape.²⁰ The

¹⁹ Note that the inscription on the altar of Santa Maria in Cosmedin of May 6, 1123 did not use the kalends dating, but rather "mense maio die VI"; Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 4, #743, p. 306. Since both styles of dating were used in this period, it would be easy to confuse the two.

²⁰ Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di Sculture," pp. 214–215; Grossi Gondi, "La Confessio," pp. 61–62.

total image of the throne—the simple shape, and the paleochristian motifs—thus identify Anaclet with the traditions of the early church, the *vita apostolica*.

Gandolfo believes that by his confirmation of the possessions of San Lorenzo issued at the time of his consecration of the basilica, Anaclet further associated the throne with the tradition of the paleochristian church as opposed to the imperial Gregorian church.²¹ In his decree Anaclet states that he ought to be especially generous to the Roman churches because he owed his election to their clergy.²² To Gandolfo this decree means that Anaclet was returning to the democratic values characteristic of the early church in calling for the consent of the elect by the clergy and the people. He contrasts Anaclet's ideal with the triumphal vision of the church, which Innocent would promote after his return to Rome at the end of the schism.

Gandolfo's point is well taken, for all of Anaclet's other works of art exhibit an empathy with the early church. But beyond that implicit identification, Anaclet appears to have been stressing the regularity of his election, for collections of canon law from the *Collectio canonum* of Deusdedit (1087) to the *Decretum* of Gratian (c. 1140) stipulated that the Roman clergy approve papal elections. Deusdedit contends that if the election were not exclusively the work of the Roman church—i.e. *cardinales* in the restricted sense of priests and deacons of the Roman church supported by the remaining *clerici religiosi*—the elect would be an *apostaticus*, not an *apostolicus*.²³ Gratian says that the supreme pontiff should be elected not just by the cardinals, but also by other religious clerics.²⁴ These clerics were conspicuously absent from Innocent's hasty and secret election, and by emphasizing their presence at his own, Anaclet appears to be calling attention to its legitimacy.²⁵

But whether Anaclet's decree shows his approval of the democratic practices of the early church, emphasizes the legality of his election, or merely expresses appreciation to the Roman clergy for having elected

²¹ Ibid., 216–218.

²² PL 179:713–714.

²³ Victor Wolf von Glanvell, ed. *Die Kanonensammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit* 1 (Paderborn, 1905), pp. 86, 107, 141–142; Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 189 & n. 43 for other collections of canon law containing similar references.

²⁴ Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus iuris canonici* 2 vols., 1 (Leipzig, 1879–81, repr. Graz, 1959), D. 63 dict. p. c. 34; D. 79 c. 1; for a brief discussion of episcopal and papal elections see Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*, pp. 23–45.

²⁵ Letters defending the legitimacy of Innocent's election primarily call attention to the fact that it preceded Anaclet's. For a defense of Anaclet's election based upon legal procedure see the letter of Cardinal Bishop Peter of Porto to the cardinal bishops who voted for Innocent, inserted into the *Historia Novella of William of Malmesbury*, ed., K. R. Potter (London, Edinburgh, Paris, Melbourne, Toronto, New York, 1955), p. 8; letter of the electors of Anaclet to Lothar, Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, pp. 185–186.

him, it is part of a larger picture in which all of these conclusions could apply. Any given statement or symbol may be ambiguous, but taken together they reveal an ideological position similar to that held by the early church leaders.

The dating of the thrones in San Clemente and San Lorenzo appear to be part of a general practice of dealing with Anaclet's consecrations. The technique may also have been employed in the church of San Giovanni avanti Porta Latina. A plaque recording the inscription of the consecration of the church attributes the event to 1190 during the reign of Celestine III, even though Celestine was not elected until 1191.²⁶ Surprisingly, historians have overlooked this discrepancy.²⁷ Giorgio Crescimbeni, who discusses the inscription, also reprints a facsimile of another bronze tablet of Celestine III dated 1196. This tablet looks much like the one dated 1190, and could have been used by a fabricator as a model to forge the inscription dating the consecration to the reign of Celestine.

The fabricator could well have been concealing a consecration solemnized by Anaclet, not only because the record of anything Anaclet touched was routinely treated in this fashion, but also because his family had special connections with San Giovanni. Its archpriest, Giovanni Graziano, who became Gregory VI in 1044 was a Pierleoni. Hildebrand, his nephew, followed him into exile, and in a way legitimized his reign by entitling himself Gregory VII. Henry III deposed Gregory VI in the Council of Sutri in 1046 allegedly for simony, but quite possibly because Gregory had not sought his approval. Many sources acknowledge that he was a worthy pope. Thus, because of the discrepancy in dating, which appears to follow the pattern of forging inscriptions to hide any connection with Anaclet, and because of the connections of his family to the church, there is a reasonable probability that Anaclet consecrated the church, and that later churchmen attributed the consecration to Celestine.

²⁶ "Anno Dominice Incarnationis MCLXXXX. Ecclesia Sancti Iohannis ante Portam Latinam dedicata est ad honorem Dei & Beati Iohannis Evangeliste manu Domni Celestini III. PP. presentibus fere omnibus Cardinalibus tam Episcopis quam et aliis Cardinalibus de Mense Madio die X. festivitatis SS. Gordinae & Epimachi est enim ibi remissio vere penitentibus XL. dierum de injunctis sibi penitentiis singulis annis." Giorgio Mario Crescimbeni, *L'Istoria della Chiesa di S. Giovanni avanti porta Latina* (Rome, 1716), p. 115; on p. 116 Crescimbeni's drawing of the inscription.

²⁷ Christian Hülsen (*Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo: Cataloghi ed Appunti*, (Florence, 1927), p. 274), and Armellini (*Le Chiese di Roma dal Secolo IV al XIX* 1, p. 635) date the inscription to 1191 with no discussion of the discrepancy. However, Forcella, whom they cite (*Iscrizioni*, vol. 11, p. 161, #297) transmits the inscription accurately with the date of 1190.

C. THE APSE FRESCO IN SAN LORENZO IN LUCINA

The apse of San Lorenzo in Lucina may also conceal clues for understanding the ideology within the papal curia just prior to the schism—specifically whether there were two distinct attitudes, which issued in the dual elections of 1130. A fresco painted there in the twelfth century has been destroyed, but Antonio Eclissi copied it in the seventeenth century, when it still was visible. His sketch is preserved in the dal Pozzo collection now housed in the royal library at Windsor Castle.²⁸

Set in a framework typical of apses of this period, the fresco is dominated by the arc of heaven out of which appears the hand of God holding a crown over the head of Christ. With his head surrounded by a crossed nimbus, Christ holds a scroll in his left hand, and raises his right in what appears to be a gesture of benediction. He stands on a low hillock surrounded by six saints whose heads are englobed in nimbi bordered in red. St. Paul stands to his right, and St. Peter to his left. Their right arms are raised, enveloped by the pallium in classic fashion. Like Christ they wear sandals and carry scrolls. With the exception of Lucina, the others carry books. The next saint to the right is St. Lawrence, and St. Stephen occupies the same relative position on the left. On the extremities are Lucina on the right carrying a replica of the basilica, and Pope Sixtus II on the left. Unlike the other figures, who are dressed in classical style, he is dressed in episcopal costume.²⁹

Although the consensus is that the church was rebuilt in the twelfth century, it has still not been determined when the apse fresco was painted. The two most probable dates are 1130, when Anaclet II consecrated the church, and 1196, when Celestine III dedicated it anew. On the basis of stylistic comparisons Morey opts for the second, but without firm conviction.³⁰ While acknowledging that Anaclet did complete the fresco in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace, he still thinks that it is unlikely that as an antipope, Anaclet would have been the patron of the painting in San Lorenzo. He also thinks that the pattern of wearing the nimbus is more indicative of the later date. He notices that all of the saints in the painting of San Lorenzo wear the nimbus, just as they do in the mosaic in Santa Maria Nuova attributed to the reign of Alexander III

²⁸ Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes*, pp. 4, 10; for an analysis of the fresco, pp. 6–15; Stephen Waetzold, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna, Munich, 1964), pp. 43–44.

²⁹ Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 2, pp. 183–185; Krautheimer points out that Morey mistakenly identified Sixtus II as Sixtus III. He says, however, that the first church was built during the reign of Sixtus III (432–440), and that it was largely rebuilt in the twelfth century.

³⁰ *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes*, p. 15.

c. 1161. Conversely, he points out, Mary and John do not wear the nimbus in the crucifixion scene in the apse mosaic in San Clemente, and none of the saints wears it in the apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere executed under the direction of Innocent II after he returned to Rome at the end of the schism. Finally, he speculates that the greater pomp and detail of the inscription recording Celestine's dedication is more appropriate to such a great painting than Anaclet's simple wording.

These arguments, as Morey no doubt realized, are no more than suggestive. The style of the inscription is more reflective of the character of the individual pope and the custom of the time than it is of the magnitude of the reconstruction and the luxuriance of the decoration. And in any case, the rebuilding in the first part of the twelfth century is likely to have been more extensive than it was later on because of the severity of the ravages wrecked by the Norman invasion of 1084. San Lorenzo was located in one of the areas hardest hit. Moreover, the rededication by Celestine III may have been more of a political act than a commemoration of a major reconstruction of the basilica, since the church considered the previous consecration by Anaclet to be invalid, and as I have argued above, probably concealed any evidence of it.

The arguments relying upon comparisons over the use of the nimbus are also shaky. There are reasons other than stylistic ones for the inclusion of nimbi around the heads of the saints in the fresco in San Lorenzo, and for their absence around the heads of the saints in the apse mosaic in Santa Maria in Trastevere. In this mosaic Innocent II, still living, stands among the saints. Since as a living pope he could not wear the round nimbus, the only way that he could appear to be on the same level as they was to avoid the nimbus altogether. Moreover, all of the reform popes in the painting Anaclet commissioned to be executed in the chapel of St. Nicholas between 1130–1138 did wear the nimbus as a sign of their sainthood. Thus, neither the stylistic comparisons nor the analysis of the inscription constitute compelling arguments demonstrating that the fresco was painted in 1196.

Although there are likewise no conclusive arguments for holding that it was executed in 1130, Anaclet associated himself with paleochristian motifs, and both the ghirlanda and the chi rho symbol are typical of this revival.³¹ Even more patently paleochristian, the scene appears to have been based upon the depiction of the *acclamatio* in the apse mosaic of S. Andrea Catabarbara during the reign of Simplicius (468–483). The same motif was used in the apse fresco of S. Elia in Nepi, which has been dated

³¹ Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 2, p. 183.

to the third decade of the twelfth century.³² A combination of the dating, the use of paleochristian motifs, and Anaclet's involvement both with the cathedra and the major altar make 1130 the almost certain date.

But if the fresco were painted in time for Anaclet's consecration of the basilica in May 1130, he may have had little or nothing to do with its conception. Since he and Innocent were elected in February of that year, and he spent the first few months thereafter fighting to establish himself in Rome and setting up his administration, he may not have had time to involve himself significantly in the conception and design of a fresco, no matter how important or imposing. The person who could have been responsible for the composition of the fresco is Anselmus, the almost unknown cardinal priest of San Lorenzo from 1128, or possibly 1125 until 1141.³³ Moreover, Anselmus supported Innocent rather than Anaclet at the time of the schism.

The possibility that Anaclet had a hand in its conception, however, cannot be ruled out. As in the chapel of St. Nicholas, the fresco could have been completed after the reconstruction and consecration of the church, or Anaclet could have been consulted about it immediately after his election. But if it were conceived by one of Innocent's loyalists, its iconography would demonstrate that prior to the schism the art in Rome divulges no ideological differences between the two camps. The painting in San Lorenzo with the classic poses and drapery of Sts. Peter and Paul was a manifestation of the *renovatio*. It reveals no basic dissonance with the future Anacletians, and adds support to other evidence that prior to the schism there was none.

³² P. Hoegger, *Die Fresken in der ehemaligen Abteikirche S. Elia bei Nepi. Ein Beitrag zur romanischen Wandmalerei Roms und seiner Umgebung* (Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 146–148; Gandolfo, "Simbolismo Antiquario e Potere Papale," n. 42, pp. 20–21.

³³ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 183. The last known document that Gregorius, Anselmus' predecessor, is known to have signed is dated November 28, 1125.

Chapter 9

THE APSE MOSAIC IN SAN CLEMENTE

In the twelfth century the theme of the vine as the symbol of the living church was revived most dramatically and exquisitely in the mosaic in the apse of San Clemente (plate 24).¹ Modeled on the fifth century mosaic in the Baptistry of the Lateran, the grapevine is transformed into the acanthus, the vine current in ancient art. It is not known with certainty who created the mosaic, or when. At one time it was thought to have been completed in 1128, but the reasoning supporting that date has been found to be fallacious. On the basis of the inscription on the papal throne and certain stylistic patterns, scholars now generally attribute its creation to the first quarter of the twelfth century, but that time frame is also questionable, since we know that the dating of the inscription is suspect.² I suggest that the same Peter, who completed the remodeling of San Clemente—in all probability Peter of Pisa—also created the mosaic, and that like the papal throne, it reflects Anaclet's conception of the church. Here is the reasoning supporting this view.

The central image of the mosaic is the crucifixion with the cross portrayed as a living tree.³ Mary and John flank Christ's feet. Issuing from

¹ Kitzinger, "The Arts," pp. 641–42; Toubert, "Renouveau Paléochrétien," pp. 122–154; Matthiae, *Pittura Politica*, pp. 55–60; idem, *Mosaici Medioevali delle Chiese di Roma* 1 (Rome, 1967), pp. 420–21; Hendrick Schulte Nordholdt, "Der Baum des Lebens. Eine Analyse des Mosaiks in der Apsis Kalotte von S. Clemente in Rom," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 28 (1986), 17–30. A shorter version of this chapter was published under the title, "The Twelfth-Century Apse Mosaic in San Clemente in Rome and its Enigmatic Inscription," *Storia e Civiltà* 4 (1988), 3–17.

² Ibid., 641; Leonard Boyle, "The date of the consecration of Saint Clements, Rome," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 30 (1960), 417–427; Gandolfo, "Reimpiego di sculture," p. 207; In "Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale," p. 20 Gandolfo concludes that the inscription is useless if it refers only to the cathedra, and false if it refers to the whole edifice and its decorations. Based upon a manuscript from Brussels Joan E. Barklay Lloyd speculates that the high altar was consecrated during the reign of Gelasius II (1118–1119). "The Building History of the Medieval Church of S. Clemente in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986), 197–223 at pp. 213–222; Lauer, *Palais de Latran*, transmits ms. 11024–28, fols. 9–12v from the Bibliothèque de Bruxelles, which mentions Gelasius in connection with San Clemente: ". . . et multe sunt hujus reliquie sanctorum et etiam indulgencie. Unde Gelasius papa concessit quotidie huc venientibus quadraginta annorum et totidem quadragenarum veniam suorum peccaminum de gratia speciali, et in quadragesima duplicantur." Nordholdt believes that the church was built by Paschal, and that the mosaic was executed by Calixtus.

³ For the *lignum vitae* of Paradise see Gerhart Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison," pp. 239–282 of vol. 1 of *Images and Ideas in the*

the base of the cross are great whirls of acanthus and the four rivers, signifying the church as the body of Christ, which nourishes the faithful by the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. Birds and flowers nestle among the tendrils of the vine, and near the bottom the four church fathers are portrayed in the garb of Benedictine monks. Beneath them appear a variety of animals and scenes from everyday life. The whole scene depicts a garden watered by the four rivers, and the serpent crushed beneath the cross implies that it is the new Eden, the garden of paradise.⁴ Underneath an inscription reads: "ECCLESIAM CRISTI VITI SIMILABIMUS ISTI+ DE LIGNO CRUCIS JACOBI DENS IGNATIQ: INSUP-RASCRPTI REQUIESCUNT CORPORE CRISTI+ QUAM LEX ARENTEM SET CRUS FACIT EE VIRENTE". The part of the inscription set off by crosses describes the relics embedded in the wall behind the cross. The outside portions state that "We shall symbolize the church of Christ by that vine, which the law makes to be arid, but the cross makes to be flourishing."

A. THE INSCRIPTION

The striking feature of this inscription is its reference to the law, which dessicates the vine of the living church. Why under one of the most wondrous mosaics ever created, one destined to attract Christians through the ages, did the author make such a seemingly invidious comparison? Would it not have been sufficient to liken the church to that vine, which the cross makes to be living? Who would compose such an inscription, and what would his intention have been?

Every scholar, who has attempted to interpret the iconography of the mosaic, has wrestled with these questions, but there still are no satisfactory answers. Each one begins with the query of which law the author of the inscription meant—secular, canon or Judaic. The best argument for

Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art, Storia e Letteratura; Raccolta di Studi e Testi 155, 2 vols. (Rome, 1983); repr. from *Speculum* 54 (1979), 223–256; for the mosaic in San Clemente see pp. 256–258; in a paper in the same volume, "Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of Renaissance," pp. 727–763, repr. from *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961), 303–322, Ladner makes a similar point. Speaking of the mosaic's possible influence on Dante on p. 742 Ladner says that the antithesis of the old law and the new dispensation in the inscription is combined with the symbolism of the dry and verdant tree, which is bound up with the relationship between the two trees of Paradise. He says that in the inscription the term *lex* no doubt elliptically refers to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, through which Adam broke God's law, while the Cross is considered as the true tree of life.

⁴ Hélène Toubert, "Les Représentations de l'Ecclesia dans l'Art de Xe–XIIe siècles," in *Musica e Arte Figurativa nei secoli X–XII*, Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità Medievale XIII, 15–18 Ottobre, 1972 (Todi, 1973); Ernst Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 22 (1972), 87–102.

the first possibility is that the law referred to the emperor, who corrupted the church by his interference. Under this interpretation the inscription could commemorate the recently signed Concordat of Worms, which constrained the emperor from metaphorically drying up the church by intervening in its affairs.⁵ Militating against this view is the countervailing factor that *lex* was not a common symbol for imperial authority, and to my knowledge, it was never used in the figurative sense of producing aridity.⁶ It is doubtful, therefore, that Christians in the early twelfth century would have made the connection between *lex* and the Concordat of Worms.

It is likewise doubtful that they would have seen the *lex* in the inscription as a symbol of canon law.⁷ Prior to the reign of Innocent II papal concentration on law was not seen as a threat to the integrity of the church, but as a means of increasing and centralizing papal authority, Innocent greatly accentuated the judicial functions of the papal curia. By the fourth decade of the twelfth century complaints of excessive papal involvement in legal disputes—even those involving secular law—had become common. But this is well after the time in which the inscription would have been composed.

In the nineteenth century G. B. De Rossi concluded that the *lex* in the inscription was a symbol for synagogue, which recognized only the law of the Old Testament.⁸ Recently, the equation of the *lex* with Judaic law has found more support.⁹ Hélène Toubert agrees with De Rossi that the living vine/dessicating law theme is a metaphor for the church in opposition to the synagogue. She notes that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries anti-Jewish tracts greatly proliferated, and that a typological iconography developed in which the truths of the New Testament were revealed to have been adumbrated in the Old. She observes that frequently these illustrations took on a polemical cast of hostility against Jews and the synagogue.

⁵ Matthiae, *Pittura Politica*, pp. 56–60; for a criticism of his view see Toubert, “Le Renouveau Paléochrétien,” n. 120, p. 132; Robert Rough says that the opposition of *Lex* and *Crus* suggests the analogous opposition of civil and spiritual powers. He believes that the mosaic reveals more of a nostalgia for Gregorian intransigence than a support for the spirit of co-existence expressed in the Concordat of Worms. *The Reformist Illuminations in the Gospels of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany* (The Hague, 1973), pp. 4, 49.

⁶ Toubert, “Renouveau Paléochrétien,” n. 120, p. 132 notes a case where *LEX* was inscribed at the feet and in the palm of a sovereign in an illustration accompanying a codex of Lombard Law from a tenth century Capuan manuscript.

⁷ As argued by E. Scaccia Scarafoni, “Il mosaico absidale di S. Clemente in Rome,” *Bollettino d'Arte* ser. III 29 (1935–36), pp. 49–68, at pp. 58–64.

⁸ Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Mosaici Cristiani delle Chiese di Roma Anteriori al Secolo XV* (Rome, 1899), fol. 136v.

⁹ Toubert, “Renouveau Paléochrétien,” p. 132 & n. 120.

Toubert promised that she would elaborate upon her argument in the future, and she provided a sketch of what her reasoning would be. She notes three Biblical sources for the vine/church metaphor in which the synagogue is said to be unworthy of the church: Isaiah 5.5–6; Matt. 21.33–41; John 15.1–8. At the time that the mosaic in San Clemente was created, she points out, texts frequently referred to this image. She then cites a previous article she had written in which she demonstrated that in the beginning of the twelfth century the opposition between the church and the synagogue was translated into art by a living plant representing the church and by a desiccated plant representing the synagogue.¹⁰ She concludes that the most basic meaning of the mosaic and inscription in San Clemente is the living/desiccated metaphor.

Her conclusion is supported by the close textual analysis of Corrado Leonardi.¹¹ He asserts that in the Old Testament no other metaphor is invoked so frequently as the grapevine to represent Judaic theocracy.¹² He reasons that the importance of the vineyard in Israel inspired the authors of the Old Testament to draw an allegory of the predilection of God toward the elect: Israel was the vine of Yaveh. In Jud. 9.7–16, for example, Leonardi shows how the metaphor was applied to the Jews against their enemy, Abimelech. In this text the vine produces an abundance of fruit, as opposed to the thicket—Abimelech—which brings forth only thorns.

But, as those who have studied the metaphor observe, the image changed. Israel, planted as a vigorous growth, deteriorated into a degenerate plant (Jer. 2.21). God said that many pastors had trodden down his vineyard, and had left it as a desolate wilderness (Jer. 12.10).¹³ Accordingly, he transferred the vine to other farmers, who would make it fruitful again (Matt. 21.41). The vine of Israel became the new vine of the church. The church fathers recognized this transformation, and it was

¹⁰ Hélène Toubert, "Une fresque de San Pedro de Sorpe (Catalogne) et le theme iconographique de l'*Arbor Bona-Ecclesia, Arbor Mala-Synagoga*," *Cabiers Archeologiques fin de L'Antiquite et Moyen Age* (1969), 167–189. For a dramatic contrast between *Arbor Bona* representing *Ecclesia* and *Arbor Mala* representing *Synagoga* see the *Liber Floridus*, ed. Derolez, pp. 462–463. The brilliantly colored illustration of the good tree has blossoms and illustrations; the colorless bad tree has barren branches, and no illustrations. Ladner concentrates more on the tree than on the vine. He states: "The Christological symbolism of the vine is here combined with that of the dry and the green tree, for the inscription implies that the Tree of life of Paradise, which the transgression of God's law had made dry, was made green again by the Cross." "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism," p. 257 and n. 76.

¹¹ Corrado Leonardi, *Ampelos: Il Simbolo della vite nell'Arte Pagana e Paleocristiana*, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae," Sectio Historica 21 (Rome, 1947).

¹² Ibid., 190 & n.1; Deut. 32.32; Ps. 79.8–19; Is. 5.1–7; 16.10; 27.1–7; Jer. 2.21; Ez. 15.1–6; 19.10; Hos. 10.1; etc.

¹³ Ibid., 191–192 for many examples of changes in the allegory of the vine.

frequently translated into the art of the first centuries of the church by the symbols of the synagogue and the church.¹⁴

Leonardi has collected an array of comments by the church fathers on the vine theme.¹⁵ These writings are important because they are the ones with which the author or authors of the mosaic and the inscription of San Clemente most probably would have been familiar. For example, commenting on Matt. 21.43 St. Jerome says that God took away his kingdom from the Jews and handed it over to the church—i.e., he transferred the vine to new farmers and viticulturists.¹⁶ Using language similar to that in the inscription in San Clemente, Basil the Great concludes that because of the sterility of Israel, the vine came to be neglected.¹⁷ Cyprian claims that the vine of the synagogue quit producing wine because it lacked grace. He believes that in the parable of the marriage of Cana, Christ demonstrated that the gentiles had acquired the benevolence of God, who had transplanted the vine to the church.¹⁸ Ireneus states that the Lord God took the vine away from the Jews because it had become sterile, and gave it to the church, where once again it flourished.¹⁹ More specifically, St. Zeno of Verona claims that the vine as synagogue generated thorns for fruit, and that the indignant lord then transferred the vine to the mother church.²⁰

Leonardi traces the vine metaphors down to the thirteenth century, adding liturgical and epigraphical texts to the patristic sources.²¹ Among other inscriptions he cites that of San Clemente, mentioning that the imagery goes back to the fourth and fifth centuries, but offering no further analysis.²² In his summary, however, he shows how the metaphors relate to the inscription. He says that according to the metaphor the vine, which was Israel in the Old Testament, became “arid” as the centuries

¹⁴ Ibid., 193.

¹⁵ Ibid., 193–199.

¹⁶ PG 26:158.

¹⁷ “Cum autem vinea infructuosa est, vineae munimenta consequenter negliguntur. Quamobrem Israeliticum populum derelictum iri interminatur, utpote qui consentaneum fructum non ferat.” Commentary on Is. 1.8, PG 30:151–54; Basil repeats his arguments in *ibid.*, 359.

¹⁸ “Nam, quia apud Iudaeos defecerat gratia spiritualis, defecit et vinum: vinea enim Domini Sabaoth domus Israel est (Is. 3.7). Christus autem, docens et ostendens gentium populum succedere, et in locum quem Iudaei perdiderant nos postmodum merito fidei pervinire, de aqua fecit vinum, id est, quod ad nuptias Christi et Ecclesiae, Iudaeis cessantibus, plebs magis gentium conflueret et convenire ostendit.” Ep. 63, *Ad Caecilium, De Sacramento dominici, calcis*, PL 4:383.

¹⁹ *Contra haereseis* 4, 36, PG 7:1091–1092.

²⁰ Liber 2, tractatus 28, PL 11:472; he expresses the same thought in *ibid.*, 467–471.

²¹ Leonardi, *Ampelos*, p. 207.

²² *Ibid.*, 209.

went by, and Yaveh rejected it. In the New Testament the lord handed over the vine to another people, more faithful to himself.²³

These metaphors of the vine fit the mosaic and inscription in San Clemente so neatly that it is difficult to imagine any other interpretation. Added to this impressive evidence is a text from Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who not only strongly supported Innocent, but also identified his own theological positions with Innocent's side of the schism. In the *Liber de laude fidei* he adopts the vine motif to express the passing of the repository of God's grace from the Jews to the Christians. He asserts that after the perfidious Jews had been expelled from the fields, their size was increased by including gentiles. From the fruits of the hands of the apostles, Gerhoh states, God planted the vine, i.e. the holy church throughout the whole world. Because the old vine had been expected to bring forth grapes, but instead had produced wild grapes and thorns, the Roman emperor exterminated it. God then planted a new vine through the apostles, Gerhoh continues, a vine which could not be exterminated. Thus God said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I shall build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."²⁴ This use of the vine metaphor to refer to the transference of the covenant from the Jews to the Christians by someone who would have been a contemporary of the composer of the inscription increases the probability that the author intended "law" to mean "Jewish law".

Strengthening this probability is the fact that although *lex* had never been a symbol for secular or canon law, it was a common metaphor conjuring up the very essence of Judaism. Typical of its use in this sense is an epigram written at the side of a portrayal of *Synagoga* in a mid-eleventh century evangelistary of the abbess Uta of Niedermünster in Regensburg. In the crucifixion scene *Synagoga* stands on one side of the cross opposite from *Ecclesia*. She is drawn into the semicircle of the border of the folio, her face partly covered, implying blindness. On her shoulder she carries the mantle and roll of the Torah, and at her side is written *Lex Tenet Occasum*—the law carries the seed of its own destruction. Juxtaposed with *Synagoga* is the personification of death, carrying a breaking lance with its point directed at its own head. A branch growing out of the stem of the cross of the crucifixion ends in a demon

²³ Ibid., 224.

²⁴ *Gerhohi praepositi Reichersbergensis Opera inedita*, ed. D. ac O. Van Den Eynde et P. Rijmersdael, vol. 1: *Tractatus et libelli, accedunt epistolae tres quas ed. P. Classen*. (Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 8–10), (1955–1956), pp. 234–235. For Gerhoh's letter to Innocent where he identifies Innocent's cause with his own, *Epistola ad Innocentium papam* (*Dialogus inter clericum saecularum et regularem*), ed. Sackur, MGH LdL 3:203–239.

head causing the bending of the figure of death. The breaking lance symbolizes the words of St. Paul: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?" (I. Cor. 15.55). The message of these two epithets is that the way to salvation cannot be found in the law of the torah, but only in the grace of God.²⁵

Christians did not reject Old Testament Law, but they did object to what they saw as the Jews' insistence upon meticulously observing rituals and rules instead of following Christ's example of honoring the spirit of the law. Jesus repeatedly countered what had been said to their forefathers in scripture with "but I say unto you". St. Paul emphasized this contrast. Tormented by the conflict between religion and law, he ultimately rejected the latter, and became the chief interpreter of Christ's message. In II. Cor. 3.6, for example, he says: "Our sole credit is from God, who made us qualified ministers of a new covenant, a covenant not of a written law, but of spirit. The written law kills, but the Spirit gives life." Following Paul, Christians saw the Jews as stiff-necked, closed-minded men who viewed the religious objective as fulfilling meaningless prescriptions rather than in responding to the deeper spiritual message, which Christ preached so passionately.²⁶

B. INTERPRETATION OF THE MOSAIC AND INSCRIPTION

But if the intent of the inscription was to accuse the Jews of causing the church to wither, what event or set of circumstances could have elicited this reproach? Only one situation involving Jews and Christians in Rome in the first part of the twelfth century would have been significant enough to have produced such a sharp rebuke—the papal schism of 1130–1138. In the propaganda war following the elections of 1130 to determine which candidate should be recognized as pope, Anaclet's Jewish heritage became one of the principal themes.

²⁵ The Uta evangelistary containing the miniature was composed in Regensburg c. 1050; Codex Latinus 13601, Staatsbibliothek, Munich. The *Liber Floridus*, ed. Derolez, p. 507 also has an illustration showing Christ's rejecting *synagoga*. Her crown is removed, and her lance broken; the mouth of a monster is opening to receive her into hell. Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, tr. Lee Chadeayne & Paul Gottwald, (New York, 1970), pp. 8–9.

²⁶ For a comprehensive discussion of these issues see Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, esp. pp. 18–25. Seiferth cites a fifteenth century codex of a French Bible in which an illustration shows Moses with the broken tablets in one hand and the new ones in the other. *Synagoga* lies on the ground while *Ecclesia* holds the new tablets aloft. The inscription reads: "... lex judeis data illis nolentibus operari non permansit. Evangelium ... gentibus datum est ... ducit in sae ..." p. 134, taken from Codex Fr. 166, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fol. 44.

Obviously these sentiments lay just below the surface, for they emerged immediately. Archbishop Walter of Ravenna, who was in the neighborhood of Rome at the time of Honorius' death, quickly drafted a letter to Norbert of Xanten, informing him of Anaclet's ignoble origin. He urged the influential founder of the Praemonstratensians, now the Archbishop of Magdeburg and imperial chancellor, to alert Lothar III and the German bishops to this fact so that the heresy of Jewish treachery might be extirpated.²⁷ The cardinal bishops, who voted for Innocent noted that Anaclet had been elected in the very hour in which Judaea had crucified Christ, and in describing the schism, the Chronicle of Maurigny emphasized the conversion of Anaclet's ancestors.²⁸ Manfred of Mantua at first only deplored the Jewish perfidy and Leonine madness of the heretic, Petrus, but becoming more expansive, he claimed that Anaclet had had sexual relations with nuns, with married women, and even with his own sister, copulating at random as though he were a dog.²⁹ Of all of those who slandered Anaclet because of his Jewish blood, Arnulf, the young Norman canon of Séz and later bishop of Lisieux, was the most obviously racial in his attacks. He asserted that Anaclet's Jewishness was visible in his face, and expressed what clearly was widely believed—that his family still had not been purified from the yeast of Jewish corruption.³⁰

Innocent's two strongest supporters, Peter the Venerable and St. Bernard, also harbored anti-Jewish sentiments, and Bernard did not conceal his opinion that Anaclet was still tainted with Jewish blood. He wrote indignantly that it was an insult to the church that the scion of a Jewish family occupied the chair of Peter.³¹ The images Bernard used to characterize Anaclet were very similar to those used for the Jews in the vine metaphor. In a letter to Peter the Venerable rejoicing over Anaclet's death St. Bernard exulted that the fruitless growth, the rotten branch had been lopped off.³² There is little doubt that in this letter Bernard meant to evoke the recollection of Anaclet's Jewish ancestry, for in other contexts he had identified the

²⁷ Jaffé, *Monumenta Bambergensia*, pp. 423–425.

²⁸ Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, pp. 182–184.

²⁹ Ibid., 275–276.

³⁰ Ibid., 258–275.

³¹ In a letter to Lothar in 1134; Ep. 139, *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. Jean Leclercq & H. Rochais 7 (1974), pp. 335–336; Peter the Venerable wrote a tract against Jews. In it he asks, for example, if there is any race of men, which does not think that the Jews are the most vile slaves, and he asserts that whereas in religion the Jews had once been the head of all peoples, that they now have become the tail. Later he asks whether one could accept a Jew, that is an exile or a slave, as king. *Petri Venerabilis Adversus Iudeorum Inveteratam Duritiem*, ed. Yvonne Friedman, *Corpus Christianorum* 58 (Turnholt, 1985), pp. 70–71.

³² Ep. 147, *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. cit. 7, pp. 350–351.

images of a flower without fruit, withered grass, and a fruitless tree with Jews.³³

In other statements Bernard uses metaphors almost identical with those in the inscription at San Clemente. In his *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* Bernard charged that their [Jews] intelligence stopped short in the thick husk of the law.³⁴ Absorbed in their rituals, and totally involved in seeking profits (*affectus in lucris totus erat*), they completed their evil ways by killing Christ. When Christ said, "It is finished," the accursed, sterile fig tree, the Jewish people, reached its fruition. Henceforth, Bernard prophesied, this people is condemned to suffer eternal aridity (*O qualem consummationem dedit grossis suis ficus haec maledicta, et subinde aeterna ariditate damnata!*).³⁵

The similarity between St. Bernard's metaphors and the one in the apse mosaic is too close to be fortuitous. Bernard saw the precursors of Christians as rigidly adhering to a ritualistic law, and in a vegetal sense as being sterile, withered, and dried up. Moreover, he was in Rome at the end of the schism, so that it is altogether possible that his thinking and the metaphors he used could have influenced the churchman, who wrote the inscription. At least it is highly suggestive that Bernard applied the two crucial concepts in the inscription, "law" and "arid", to the Jews. The author would only have obfuscated their meaning by using them to refer to secular or canon law.

If, then, the general reference of the inscription is to the Jews, the second level of meaning might be to liken Anacleto's reign to the law, which withers the church. As we shall see, an inscription accompanying the mosaics that Innocent created in Santa Maria in Trastevere expresses a similar theme. Innocent might well have approved such an inscription, for like St. Bernard, he also thought of Anacleto as Jewish. In a letter to Archbishop Hugh of Rouen on October 6, 1131, he praised Hugh for having been an intrepid supporter of the church in its time of trial. He said that he was aware that Hugh detested the ambition of the invader, Petrus Leonis, and that the archbishop had ground down the madness of Jewish perfidy by his frequent exhortations. He was pleased, he said, that Hugh's efforts had met with such great success.³⁶ In Rome, Innocent showed his displeasure with the Jews by his sharp retort to their greetings upon his return from exile, and he did not renew Calixtus'

³³ *De Laude Novae Militiae*, c. 7, *Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. cit., 3, p. 225; *De Laudibus Virginis Matris Sermo* I, *ibid.*, 4, p. 17; *Sermones Super Cantica*, *ibid.*, 2, pp. 143–144; for a detailed description of Bernard's attitude toward Jews see David Berger, "The Attitude of St. Bernard of Clairvaux Toward the Jews," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 40 (1972), 89–108.

³⁴ *Sermones Super Cantica*, *ibid.*, 2 p. 143.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 143–144.

³⁶ PL 179:103: "... et ambitionem invasoris Petri Leonis detestans, ac Judaicae perfidiae furorem conterens ..."

bull of protection, *Sicut Judaeis*, most probably drafted in response to the pogroms during the First Crusade.³⁷

C. THE CREATOR OF THE MOSAIC AND THE INSCRIPTION

There are problems, however, with attributing the mosaics in San Clemente and their mysterious inscription to Innocent. Innocent would have to have conceived the typology for the mosaics long after Anastasius had begun his renovations of the church c. 1115, and he certainly would have taken credit for them as he did in Santa Maria in Trastevere. Moreover, Boso does not include the mosaic in San Clemente in his list of Innocent's artistic and architectural accomplishments in his biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*.³⁸ What is as mystifying as the inscription itself is the fact that no one claimed responsibility for the creation of such a glorious mosaic. Why was there no epigraph such as Alfanus had engraved in Santa Maria in Cosmedin? Why were there no plaques commemorating the consecration of the church after its rebuilding, such as those that were inscribed for Santa Maria in Cosmedin, San Nicola in Carcere, San Lorenzo in Lucina, and Santa Maria in Trastevere? What appears to be a conspiracy of silence begs one to ask why the creator of the mosaics was anonymous.

One reason might be that someone wanted him to remain unknown. Since Innocent's followers destroyed every vestige of Anaclet they could both before and after his death, they might have done the same thing with evidence associating him with the mosaic. Their obliteration of any record of his involvement would explain why no commemoration exists. Themes in the mosaic itself support the plausibility of this hypothesis.³⁹ There are similarities between the decorations in San Nicola in Carcere and those in San Clemente, especially the bird characteristic of paleochristian ornamentation. Also the vine motif on the papal throne in San Lorenzo in Lucina is a dominant part of the decor in the apse mosaic. And there is some suggestion that the author might have been a monk. In the mosaic the four church fathers—Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great—who usually are portrayed as bishops, are all dressed as Benedictine monks. Since Anaclet had taken his vows at Cluny, he or one

³⁷ Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews 1/1: Documents, 492–1404* (Studies and Texts, 94), (Toronto, 1988), pp. 44, 51–52; Hermann Vogelstein & Paul Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, vol. 1, 139 v. Cbr. – 1420 n. Cbr. (Berlin, 1896), pp. 221–223. See ch. 12, n. 19.

³⁸ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 384.

³⁹ On the basis of a close comparative analysis of the mosaic, Nordholdt concludes that it was created out of piety for the iconography of paleochristian mosaics. "Der Baum des Lebens," pp. 19–24.

of his followers may have used this opportunity to emphasize the ties between the religious life and the church fathers.

But even though there are good arguments for speculating that Anaclet himself conceived the mosaic, there are other candidates. Quite possibly, given the chronology of the rebuilding of the church, the mosaic was on the point of completion when the schism occurred, and Anaclet merely consecrated the church soon after his election. As in the case of San Lorenzo in Lucina, any record of his consecration would have been concealed or destroyed when Innocent returned to Rome. Whoever conceived the complex images of the mosaic had to be sophisticated and a learned theologian.

Two candidates besides Anaclet satisfy these criteria—Leo, cardinal bishop of Ostia (between 1102 and 1107–1115) and the shadowy Peter, most probably Peter of Pisa, cardinal priest of Santa Susanna. Leo had been a monk at Montecassino where the *renovatio* began. Its abbot, Desiderius, had rebuilt the basilica at the end of the eleventh century, and had revived the Byzantine skill of creating mosaics.⁴⁰ Leo had been a witness to these artistic developments, and he also was a writer of repute, composing a section of the Chronicle of Montecassino.⁴¹ Moreover, he was directly associated with San Clemente. Anastasius chose him to write a life of St. Clement, and a history of the translation of the saint's relics to Rome. The main argument against Leo's possible involvement is that since he died in 1115, and Anastasius still had not completed the reconstruction of San Clemente at his death in 1125, he may have lived prior to the planning of the mosaic.

If Peter of Pisa was the Peter who took over the completion of the basilica upon Anastasius' death, he would have been on the scene at the right time to have planned the mosaics.⁴² As one of the most learned theologians and gifted canon lawyers of his day, he was eminently qualified to do so. But would he—or for that matter, Leo of Ostia or Anaclet—have composed the inscription? If the inscription was a slur on Anaclet—its most probable interpretation—Peter, as one of Anaclet's most steadfast supporters and apologists would never have written it before his capitulation to St. Bernard in late 1137.

One possibility would resolve this conundrum. The mosaic, and at least parts of the inscription, were conceived by different people. Two factors support this conjecture. The first is that only part of the inscription is reflected in the mosaic: "We shall symbolize the church of Christ by this

⁴⁰ Toubert, "Renouveau Paléochrétien," p. 152.

⁴¹ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, p. 105.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 210.

vine, which the cross makes to be flourishing." No iconography in the mosaic shows the law's causing the vine to become arid. In the many examples, which Toubert cites in her article on the good church/bad synagogue theme, the withered as well as the flourishing trees are portrayed.⁴³ The second discordance in the inscription is that it is interrupted by a description of the relics placed in the wall behind the mosaics.

It was not unprecedented in Rome at this time to have inscriptions divided into discrete sections. The almost contemporaneous one in Santa Maria in Trastevere, formulated under the auspices of Innocent, is a case in point. The difference there is that each statement in the inscription is complete within its own area, while in San Clemente the thought is interrupted by the interpolation of the list of relics. This awkwardness plus the absence of any reflection of part of the inscription in the iconography of the mosaic causes one to wonder if there might be something irregular about the inscription. It was not uncommon to alter inscriptions dating from this period, and the possibility that someone reflecting Innocent's views changed the one in San Clemente is entirely feasible.⁴⁴ Either he might have wanted to delete some reference to Anaclet, or he might have wanted to take advantage of the vine metaphor to draw attention to the Jewish origin of the pope, who had caused such great trauma to the church.

Since Innocent himself associated the law with the Jews, the symbolism of the inscription would have been in keeping with his own images. In one of the solemn ceremonies performed during his reign a delegation of Jews met him, genuflected before him, and offered him their law. They urged that he also venerate it. Innocent responded that he praised and venerated the law handed down to Moses, but not their observance and

⁴³ Toubert, "Une Fresque de San Pedro de Sorepe," *passim*. Although the inscription refers to the vine's being made arid by the law, and flourishing by the cross, Ladner applies the living/desiccated metaphor to the cross as the Tree of Life of Paradise. Rather than seeing the *lex* as symbolic of Jewish law, he sees it as a metaphor for Adam and Eve's transgression of God's law in the Garden of Eden. According to this interpretation, it was not the vine symbolizing the church, which was made to be living by the cross, but the Tree of Paradise was made green again by the cross. This interpretation does not seem to me to be what the inscription is saying. In particular the inscription states that *lex*, not the transgression of *lex*, caused the vine to wither. Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism," p. 257.

⁴⁴ For changes in the inscription under the apse mosaic in Santa Maria Nuova see C. R. Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Medieval Period: A Publication of Drawings contained in the Collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo, now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (Princeton, London, Oxford, 1915), pp. 18–19; De Rossi claims that the writing of the inscription is the original, but it is not clear whether he is making this claim on the basis of the ancient description in the papers of Severano Vallicelliano, which he used as evidence to show that retouches did not essentially change the mosaic, or from an examination of the mosaics in the inscription themselves. *Musaici*, fol. 136v.

interpretation. For, he said, the Savior whom you await in vain, has already come.⁴⁵

Possibly originally there were three inscriptions, or if the awkward arrangement of the interpolation of the list of relics was intentional, the third might have read: "which the cross makes to be flourishing" (*Quam Crus Facit Esse Virentem*). Evidence supporting the hypothesis that the third part of the inscription was changed is the use of an incorrect form for "cross"—*crus* instead of *crux*. In the second section of the inscription the genitive of cross—*crucis*—is correct, as is the ablative form in the mosaics on the arch—*cruce*. Intriguingly, the same mistake, or perhaps local usage, appears in the great apse mosaic in Santa Maria in Trastevere. There, *amplesabitur* was written, where *amplexabitur* would have been the common form.⁴⁶ When Innocent returned to Rome after his years in exile, he brought with him officials from other lands. The substitution of "s" for "x" might simply have been a foreign usage. Further evidence that the last section of the inscription might have been changed is that it is the only part where abbreviations are used. This space-saving device would have facilitated the addition of the words, *LEX ARENTEM SET*. There is a possibility, therefore, either that the last section was connected with the first, but modified, or that it was unconnected with the first, and totally changed.⁴⁷

One last explanation for the origin of the enigmatic inscription must be considered. Peter of Pisa himself might have written it. As the probable creator of the mosaic, he could also have written the inscription, surely not before his conversion, but afterwards. Bernard never convinced him that Anaclet was not the legally elected pope, but he did persuade him during the tribunal before Roger II in 1137 that by that time almost all of the church recognized Innocent, and that the unity of the church would

⁴⁵ Ciaconius, *Vitae et Res Gestae* 1, col. 977: "Synagoga Iudaeorum Parisiensium equitanti Innocentio Legis Mosaicae volumen ostendit: idem a Iudaeis Romae degentibus Romano Pontifice ad Lateranum, sollemni pompa, equitante fieri solitum, disce ex Li. I. *Rituum S.R.E.* cuius verba non inuitus leges "Iudaei illi (Pontifici) obuim eunt, genusflexi legem Pontifici offerreunt, lingua Hebraea laudantes, & hortantes Pontificem, ut illam veneretur. Pontifex illis auditis, in hanc sententiam respondit. Sanctam legem, Viri Hibraei, & laudamus, & veneramur; ut pote quae ab omnipotenti Deo per manus Moysi Patribus vestris tradita est; observantiam vero vestram, & vanam interpretationem damnamus; quia Saluatorem, quem adhuc frustra expectatis; Apostolica fides iam pridem aduenisse docet, & praedicat Dominum nostrum Iesvm Christu, qui cum Patre, & Spiritu sancto vivit, & regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum."

⁴⁶ For the inscription in Santa Maria in Trastevere see the drawings of Eclissi, Cod. Barb. Lat. 2011; De Rossi, *Musaici*, fols. 140r–141v; Matthiae, *Mosaici Medioevali* 1, n. 7, p. 314; for San Clemente, Leonardi, *Ampeles* n. 1, p. 209.

⁴⁷ See the diagram (unnumbered) in the *Tavole* at the back of vol. 2 of Matthiae, *Mosaici Medioevali*. The law theme could have been suggested by Boetius, the first cardinal priest appointed at San Clemente after Innocent's return, and a jurist himself. See Barbara Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinal-Kollegiums von 1130 bis 1159* (Diss., Würzburg, 1964), p. 116.

suffer as long as churchmen continued to support Anaclet. After he returned to Rome from the tribunal, and before his betrayal by Innocent in the Lateran Council of 1139, Peter could have written the inscription to express his new state of mind. In this case, he could have been using *lex* in its most literal sense. By following the law—that is recognizing that Anaclet was the legally elected pope—he and those who thought as he did, caused the church to wither. By looking into the spirit of the law, as Jesus did, they were drawn back to the cross, which nourishes the church. Thus, Peter would have reasoned, there are times when other principles supersede canon law for achieving the greater good of the church. This reasoning could have been his justification for his original recognition of Honorius in spite of the pope's manifestly illegal election.

Although Peter might have composed the inscription, it is more probable that one of Innocent's followers wrote the final version. In either case, Anaclet was its referent. But the mosaic itself with its paleochristian motifs echoing the emphasis on brotherhood and simplicity of the early church is almost certainly inspired by Anaclet.

Chapter 10

THE APSE FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS IN THE LATERAN PALACE

As we have seen, Calixtus restored a key center of the Lateran palace, which had fallen into neglect during the turbulent years of hostility with the German emperor. Panvinus describes the chapel of St. Nicholas as being especially beautiful, “painted all over”, and covered with a wooden, imbricated roof. In its altar were secreted many relics.¹ Its crowning glory was the great apse fresco centered around the coronation of the Virgin.² The fresco has long since ceased to exist, but drawings from the seventeenth century show that she was seated on a throne dressed as a queen in the early Byzantine style (plate 25).³ She wore a

¹ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 173. See ch. 2, esp. ns. 3–5 for the rebuilding of part of the palace.

² Grimaldi refers to the painting as a “pictura inepta”, but it may have been because many of the identities had been corrupted. Vat. Cappon. 145, fol. 173. Joseph Wilpert, “Die Kapelle des hl. Nikolaus im Lateranpalast, ein Denkmal des Wormser Kondordats,” pp. 225–233 of *Festschrift Georg von Hertling* (Munich, 1913), p. 229.

³ P. D. Costantino Gaetani, *Vita del Pontefice Gelasio II.* (Rome, 1638, repr. 1802), p. 245. Ciaconius, Vat. Lat. 5407 fols. 75–96; Eclissi, King's Library, Windsor Castle, *Mosaici Antichi*, vol. 1, fol. 49, nr. 8981 (apse), Dal Pozzo nr. 49; vol. 2, fol. 87 nr. 9205 (Gelasius and Paschal); fol. 87, nr. 9206 (Urban and Leo), Dal Pozzo nr. 31; fol. 92, nr. 9213 (Gregory I and Alexander); fol. 92, nr. 9214 (Gregory VII and Victor), Dal Pozzo nr. 50; Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733 fols. 314v–315v: “Extat hodie dictum oratorium, in quo poenitentiarum Missas domi celebrant, totum album est praeter absidam, situm retro chalcidicam maiorem aulae Laonianae. In testitudine memorata habet imaginem Deiparae Virginis imperatricis similem illi, quae est in sacello Altempsiano in basilica Transtibertina; hinc inde duos angelos virgas tenentes; Virgo Deipara habet coronam, tenet crucem, filium sinu gestat. A latere dextro est sanctus Silvester papa cum planeta et pallio, cum libro in sinistra et dextra benedicens cum thiara unius coronae. A sinistris est sanctus Anastasius cum pallio pontificali et rotundo diademate. Ad pedes Deiparae in dextris est prostratus Callistus secundus cum planeta et pallio et quadrato diademate, habet rotundam albam barbam pulchroque aspectu; a sinistris Deiparae pariter prostratus est Anastasius quartus cum planeta et pallio et quadrato diademate. In zophoro absidae legitur haec mutilata inscriptio, correrunt litterae ex pictura ac spatia litterarum notavi; est autem huiusmodi. In parte evangelii sunt hi summi pontifices planeta et pallio induti cum orbiculare diademate et thiara unius coronae in pariete hemicycli sinistra, tenent librum, dextra benedictionem impartiuntur: sanctus Leo papa; sanctus Paschalis papa cum barba quinquagenarius; sanctus Caelestinus papa etiam 50 annorum. In latere epistolae in hemicyclo apsidis: sanctus Gregorius senex valde non habet regnum, nisi tantum orbiculare diadema. In singulis sunt dicta nomina sanctorum.” Grimaldi, ms. Vat. Barb. 34, 50, ed. Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran*, p. 584; Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 478; Lauer discusses and reproduces many of the drawings, pp. 162–170. For the apse sketch of Eclissi see Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome*, p. 2.

There are many analyses and descriptions of this fresco. Among the most important: Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *Esame Storico ed archeologico dell'immagine Urbano II papa*

crown and held an astile cross. The Christ child, holding what appeared to be a scroll, was sitting on her lap. Appearing out of a star-studded heaven the hand of God held the wreath of victory. Projecting on either side from the pillow on which Mary was sitting was an angel bearing a torch, its head held back as if in wonder at the vision of the Virgin and her son.

Two figures dressed as popes stood on the floor level below the raised throne, their heads englobed by halos. The one on the viewer's left wore a tiara, and had printed beside him the name, Sylvester I (plate 26). The one on the viewer's right did not wear the tiara, but in other respects resembled the figure on the left. He was entitled Anastasius I (plate 27). Kneeling at Mary's feet, and indeed clasping them, were two smaller figures wearing the square nimbus, indicating that they were still living, and not yet saints.⁴ The person holding Mary's right foot was identified as Calixtus II, with different spellings in the seventeenth century drawings of Gaetani, Eclissi, and Grimaldi (plate 28).⁵ He was realistically portrayed with a beard, a feature he shared with all of the other popes in the painting except the figure clasping Mary's other foot. This figure, identified as Anastasius III in the Grimaldi drawing, and as Anastasius III in Eclissi's, was portrayed as a beardless young man with brown or blond hair (plate 29).

Separating this zone from the one below were two verses. Directly beneath the throne scene was written: PRAESIDET AETHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS. With slight variations, on the side beneath Calixtus II was written: SUSTVLIT HOC PRIMO TEMPLVM CALIXTUS AB IMO VIR CELEBRIS LATE GALLORUM NOBILITATE. However, the verse on the viewer's right differs in each drawing. In the one reproduced by Grimaldi it reads: PAT CVLMINE—HOC OPUS ORNAVIT VARIISQ MODI DECO-RAVIT;⁶ Eclissi records: P PAT CULMINE HOC OPUS ORNAVIT VARIISQUE

(Rome, 1881); Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 270; idem, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1941–84) 1, pp. 192–218; 3, p. 40; Herbert Bloch, "The Schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil Forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino," *Traditio* 8 (1952), 159–264 at p. 180; idem, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* 3 vols., 2 (Rome & Cambridge, Mass., 1986), pp. 964–966; Herklotz, "Die Beratungsräume Calixtus' II.," pp. 212–214; Ursula Nilgen, "Maria Regina—Ein politischer Kultbildtypus," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1981), pp. 3–5, 24 & passim; Marion Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin* 7 (1924–25), 150–161 at p. 156; Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory*, n. 33, pp. 38–39; H. K. Mann, "The Portraits of the Popes," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 9 (1920), 159–204 at p. 187.

⁴ Gerhart B. Ladner, "The so-called square nimbus," *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art* 1, 115–166, repr. from *Medieval Studies* 3 (1941), 14–45; Ladner says (p. 153) that in the twelfth century the chief purpose of the square nimbus was to single out eminent persons, usually still alive, and therefore not to be characterized as saints by the round halo.

⁵ See n. 3 above.

⁶ See fig. 221 of Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 315r. 4 spaces are missing before "Late", and 17 between "Coreis" and "Pat".

MODIS DECORAVIT. Gaetani has yet another version: VERVM ANASTASIVS PAPATVS CULMINE QUARTVS HOC OPUS ORNAVIT, VARIISQUE MODIS DECORAVIT.⁷

However, more than a century before these reproductions were made, Pietro Sabino copied the following verse, the first two lines from the left side of the fresco, and the second two from the right.

Sustulit hoc primo templum Callistus ab imo
vir celebris late Gallorum nobilitate
Letus Callistus papatus culmine fretus
hoc opus ornavit variisque modie decoravit.⁸

The Eclissi drawings of the lower half of the painting are divided into two sections. The folio on the left half (left to right) contains the figures of Gelasius II, Paschal II, Urban II and Leo the Great (plate 30). Those on the right (left to right) are Gregory the Great, Alexander II, Gregory VII and Victor III (plate 31). The figures are the popes of the reform to which are added the models, Leo the Great and Gregory the Great (plates 32, 33). The open books of the models distinguish them as teachers.⁹ The other popes carrying closed books are granting a blessing in the older style with their right thumbs and ring finger conjoined (plates 34–39).¹⁰ All of the popes wear the tiara, and their heads are encircled by nimbi. They have the frontal stare of saints, and beside their names is written *sanctus*. Never before had popes, who had died so recently, been portrayed as saints. Missing from the Eclissi drawings is the figure of St. Nicholas, who in other reproductions stands in a special niche directly under the virgin. In these drawings he is portrayed as an old man dressed as a bishop.¹¹ He carries a closed book on which rest three balls.

A. ANACLET AS THE CREATOR OF THE FRESCO

The fresco has been dubbed “the apotheosis of the victorious papacy” to which Herbert Bloch added “of the reform”. Following Klewitz, he sees the schism of Anaclet and Innocent as the end of the Gregorian

⁷ Gaetani, *Vita Gelasio*, p. 245.

⁸ Reprinted by Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* 2, n. 22, p. 325.

⁹ Wilpert, “Die Kapelle,” p. 228.

¹⁰ Grimaldi, *Barb. Lat.* 2733, fol. 315r, n. a: “Benedicunt dextra pollice cum annulari coniuncto, ut in antiquis musivis et picturis alibi videtur.”

¹¹ In some of the copies of the frescoes his head dress seems to be the same as those of the popes on either side of him. However, in the copy of Gaetani taken from the Opera Benedictus XIV of 1767 it appears that he wears a mitre, and the popes tiaras. Lauer, *Palais de Latran*, pp. 163–164. In addition to the sources cited on St. Nicholas in n. 14, ch. 1 see Charles W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manbattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago, London, 1978) pp. 167–172, 209–217; Jounel, “Le culte des saints,” pp. 110–111, 320–321; K. Blaschke, “Nicolaipatrozinium und städtische Frühgeschichte,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* KA 53 (1967), 273–337.

Reform, already superseded by the "New Reform" of St. Bernard. The most impressive document of this "end", he believes, is the apse painting in the chapel of St. Nicholas.¹² The title seems appropriate, for the reform popes had just defeated their schismatic opponents, and Calixtus had portrayed the Concordat of Worms as a triumph. As the iconographer Anaclet appears to be celebrating these victories as the last pope in this tradition, tenaciously clinging to the old Gregorian principles, which had won these victories. But if the *scabellum* series was boldfaced propaganda, the iconography of the apse painting is more subtle. I suggest that Anaclet did not distinguish between a new and an old reform, and that while he paid homage to the reform popes, who had preceded him, he also identified with the values of the new reformers.

But how do we know that Anaclet had anything to do with the painting? Nothing in the inscriptions or in the seventeenth century reproductions connects him with it. It was not until Louis Duchesne became suspicious of the earliest version of the dedicatory verse recorded by Pietro Sabino at the end of the fifteenth century that anyone had an inkling that someone other than Calixtus might have been the architect of the painting.¹³ Duchesne's curiosity was picqued by G. B. De Rossi's observations: (1) that in order to satisfy the requirements of Leonine rhyme, *letus Callistus* should read *Callistus letus* to rhyme with *fretus*, and (2) that "Calixtus" rather than "Callistus" was the correct spelling for the twelfth century. These anomalies suggested to Duchesne that the verse might have been altered, and like a good detective, he set about to reconstruct it. He noted that the repetition of Calixtus' name in such a short verse was unusual, and also that the sense of the verse was that one person built the chapel (*primo*), and that another decorated it. Observing that in the seventeenth century Gaetani had copied "Verum Anastasius papatus" for Sabino's "Letus Callistus papatus", Duchesne suspected that the first two words were already undecipherable by the time of Sabino. He conjectures that Sabino simply supplied the words which he thought were appropriate.

Duchesne notes that the words, "Letus Callistus" had disappeared by the time subsequent copies were made, but that in one or two of them the letter "A" appears. He adds that Sabino's wording was not in accord with those copies since he did not incorporate the "A". Concentrating instead on the "P" with which Eclissi begins the third line of the verse,

¹² Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 270; Bloch, "The Schism of Anacletus," p. 180; Idem, *Monte Cassino* 2, p. 966.

¹³ *Lib. Pont.* 2, n. 22, p. 325; Louis Duchesne, "Notes sur la Topographie de Rome au Moyen-Age. V. Le nom d'Anaclet II au palais de Latran," *Mélanges D'Archéologie et d'histoire, École Française de Rome* 9 (1889), 355-362; Wilpert, "Die Kapelle," pp. 226-227.

Duchesne suggests that the first word should be "Praesul". He rejects "Anastasius" as the name Gaetani records as the second word of the line because Anastasius IV did not become pope until 1153, and he rightly holds that it is highly improbable that the chapel would have remained unfinished for 30 years. The fact that the figure kneeling at Mary's left is identified as Anastasius IIII (Anastasius III in the Eclissi drawing) does not militate against his argument, because, as he points out, many of the names had been changed in the painting. Moreover, he emphasizes, Sabino and Panvinus, who had seen the painting before the restorations of 1570, do not mention Anastasius in the inscription.

By adducing evidence from Pandulfus' life of Calixtus in the *Liber Pontificalis*, Duchesne argues that the person both in the inscription and kneeling on Mary's left was Anaclet rather than Anastasius. He reasons as follows: In 1134 Pandulfus wrote that Calixtus had commanded that the chapel be painted just as it appears in all of its glory today. The most natural interpretation of this text is that Calixtus conceived the plan of decoration, but that another carried it out. Since Pandulfus already saw the painted chapel in 1134, "that other" had to be some pope who had lived between Calixtus and that date. Honorius II, Innocent II and Anaclet II qualify as candidates. Innocent only occupied the Lateran palace for a few weeks in 1133, not enough time to have executed the painting, but Anaclet was there from 1130–1138. He was the pope in the best position to have supervised the painting, and in addition, the insertion of his name in the inscription met the literary requirements of the leonine rhyme. Duchesne concludes that in all probability the third line of the inscription read: "Praesul Anacletus papatus culmine fretus."

Political considerations support Duchesne's mainly literary argument that Anaclet rather than Calixtus decorated the apse in the chapel of St. Nicholas. Most importantly, there was a motive to dissociate Anaclet from the fresco. His opponents wanted to expunge his memory, and they would particularly have objected to seeing him portrayed in the outstanding fresco commemorating the reform, and having his name inscribed beneath. But whether Duchesne's exact recreation of the line is correct or not may still be a matter of conjecture. The weak point in his argument is that Sabino obligingly supplied the indistinct or missing words. It would be almost too much of a coincidence if only the incriminating words in the inscription became indistinct from the ravages of time, and it is also most unlikely that Anaclet's name would have been removed and no other substituted. The gap would have been a constant reminder that some pope whose name his successors wished not to be revealed had painted the chapel. Who other than Anaclet could that pope have been? Moreover,

if the "P" were still there in the seventeenth century, why did Sabino not supply a word beginning with "P"? He could have written "Praesul Callistus" just as well as "Letus Callistus". And why did Gaetani, who drew his sketch about the same time as Eclissi, use "Verum" instead of some word which began with "P" like "Praesul"?

I suggest that rather than Pietro Sabino, Innocent's painter changed the two words at the beginning of the third line of the inscription. Innocent would have wanted the offensive reminder of his former enemy removed from his private chapel as soon as possible, and he would not have left blank spaces to call attention to the deletion. Further evidence that it was Innocent's painter rather than Sabino, who inserted "Letus Callistus", is the use of the letter "s" where "x" would have been correct. We have seen that this substitution was made in the inscriptions definitely attributable to Innocent in Santa Maria in Trastevere, and possibly attributable to him in San Clemente. It is accordingly reasonable to suspect that the man prone to use this idiosyncratic spelling modified the inscription in the chapel of St. Nicholas as well. Perhaps he made his task easier by erasing the first letters of "Anacletus", and utilizing the "letus".

In all probability, at the time he had the inscription altered Innocent had "Anacletus I" changed to "Anastasius I, and "Anacletus II" to "Anastasius III" in the fresco itself. "Anastasius" had the obvious advantage in both cases of allowing the first three letters to remain unchanged. Both popes were politically insignificant, but nonoffensive. Later, when Anastasius IV did turn out to be an outstanding pope, another forger added an additional I to Anastasius III. This explanation would account for the fact that the number is painted as IIII rather than the more customary IV.

Apart from the inscription and the shifting names, it is of critical importance for the understanding of the changing attitudes toward the Reform and the position of the pope within the church to determine who conceived the iconographically rich painting. Was Duchesne correct in concluding that Calixtus created it, and that Anaclet merely applied the finishing touches? His reasoning is not compelling. When read in broader context, the phrase he quotes from Pandulfus to demonstrate that Calixtus both conceived and partially painted the chapel (*ampliavit et pingi sicut apparet hodie miro modo praecepit*) appears to refer to the painting in the adjoining room rather than to the chapel itself. (*aeccliesiam sancti Nicholai in palatio fecit, cameram ampliavit et pingi sicut apparet hodie miro modo praecepit*).¹⁴ The "camera" is the room which Calixtus

¹⁴ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 323; Ladner, *I Ritratti* 1, p. 208 expresses some uncertainty over whether Anaclet was the sole author of the painting, but Bloch is now convinced that he was; *Monte Cassino* 2, n. 3, p. 965.

indubitably did paint, where the antipopes served the popes as *scabella*, and where Calixtus and Henry held the imperial charter from the Concordat of Worms.

Further evidence that Calixtus did not conceive the painting is Anaclet's depiction in it. At the very least the original design would have to have been modified in what was not a detail, but a key part of the iconography. If, however, Calixtus did not have the fresco painted while he was still living, why was he wearing the square halo as the symbol of a living pope? Was it not logically impossible for two popes to wear the square halo? Indeed it was, but the explanation is not necessarily that Calixtus had himself painted while he was still living, and that, ignoring the contradiction, Anaclet simply added himself as Calixtus' counterpart on the other side of Mary. More plausibly, wishing visually to emphasize the identity of his view of the relationship of the pope to the church with that of Calixtus, Anaclet had both figures painted with square halos. If he had not intended to make a specific point by this pictographic device, he could have done the conventional thing, and had Calixtus painted with a round halo. He rejected that option. But if he identified himself with Calixtus, he nevertheless subtly accorded his predecessor the greater honor by making his halo larger, and framing it with a border.¹⁵

Moreover, if only the final touches remained to be completed, why did Honorius not finish the job? He had six years in which to do so, and no political or ideological impediments. Most probably he did not complete the painting because there was no painting to complete. The balance of evidence, then, supports the unambiguous statement in the inscription—that Calixtus constructed the chapel, and that Anaclet decorated it.

As understandable as the view may be that the fresco celebrated the triumph of the Gregorian reform—the papal victory over the emperor and his popes—this is not Anaclet's message. Nor is Honorius' absence evidence of Anaclet's rejection of Bernardine spirituality. When Anaclet decorated the chapel he intentionally omitted any depiction of Honorius, because he did not believe that his predecessor was worthy to stand among the reforming popes. Rather, the main theme of the painting is religious; it exhibits an empathy with the early church similar to St. Bernard's own proclivities.

Granting St. Nicholas the place of honor in the lower section of the painting shows Anaclet's inclination to continue Calixtus' display of devotion to the saint, who was thought to have assured the success of the reform papacy. His special niche and larger size are a sign of Anaclet's respect for Calixtus' wishes, and evidence that there was no break

¹⁵ This difference is especially prominent in the drawing of Gaetani.

between the two men over whether or not to compromise with the emperor. The portrayal of all of the popes flanking St. Nicholas as saints modeled after the saints of the primitive church depicted under the *Scala Sancta* and the chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum*, shows an identification with the paleochristian church (plates 34–39).¹⁶ By depicting the popes as saints rather than modeling them after the popes and bishops of the Investiture Contest, Anaclet is showing that he believed the outcome of the conflict to be primarily a religious victory. By comparison with the scenes of triumph portrayed by Calixtus in the adjoining *camera*, the sense of Anaclet's painting was overwhelmingly religious rather than political. There were no vanquished enemies.

B. MARIA REGINA

The upper half of the painting is more complex. The central figure is the Virgin portrayed as "Maria Regina", the name given to this royal image in an inscription describing a Carolingian fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome. Since the sixth century this image of Mary was a Roman specialty, and it was especially admired in the eighth and ninth centuries. However, it went into an eclipse in the late tenth century, and ceased to be a model until the early twelfth. For a painting so pregnant with symbolism the dramatic resuscitation of this model would seem to indicate that Anaclet selected it to convey a very specific message. Yet, this conclusion is not absolutely certain. The similarity between the figure in the Lateran chapel and the precious eighth-century icon in Santa Maria in Trastevere—the Madonna della Clemenza—has convinced some historians that Anaclet chose this image of Mary as his model.¹⁷ Since Santa Maria in Trastevere was his last cardinalate church, and its title was St. Calixtus, he would have had multiple reasons for choosing its venerated icon as the prototype for his fresco. The question is whether he selected it merely out of private delectation, or whether he chose it because it had a special significance. Or was it just serendipity that a beloved icon embodied the precise message he wanted to convey?

¹⁶ The names of the popes were changed by the Poenitentiari to whom Pius V granted the oratory in 1570 because they objected to their sanctification without the procedures of canonization. We know their correct names from Panvinus. Wilpert, "Die Kapelle," p. 228.

¹⁷ Carlo Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere* (Rome, 1961), pp. 66–71; Nilgen, "Maria Regina," pp. 4–7; Ernst Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art," *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), 6–19 at p. 19; Bloch believes that the evidence is so strong that the Madonna was the model for the centerpiece of the apse painting that the hypothesis that Calixtus was responsible for the pictorial representation can no longer be entertained seriously. *Monte Cassino* 2, n. 3, p. 965. Gandolfo believes that the reference to the ancient image is analogous to the paleochristian motifs in the thrones in San Clemente and San Lorenzo in Lucina. "Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale," p. 23.

In the form of *Maria Regina*, Mary had personified the church.¹⁸ The crown, scepter-cross, and ornate dress were all symbols of the church even if they were combined on a female figure other than Mary (plate 40). After the hundred year hiatus in the popularity of the *Maria Regina* motif, however, its symbolism might not have been confined to a representation of the church. When Alfanus adopted it for the painting over his tomb in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, for example, he might have chosen it simply because it was coming into vogue as a part of the *renovatio*.¹⁹

The images Mary assumed were almost legion. Among them were the bride of God, the bride of Christ, the bride of the Holy Spirit, the mother of Christ, and the mother of the church. But because of the immense influence of St. Bernard, by the second quarter of the twelfth century Mary was increasingly seen as the conduit between the church and Christ.²⁰ Bernard and the Cistercians were in great part responsible for the resurgence in the veneration of Mary, and the saint created many metaphors of Mary in her intercessory role. For example, he spoke of Christ as the sun of justice, and the church as the moon, which receives all of its light from that sun, but only through Mary's mediation.²¹ He visualized the church as prostrating itself at the feet of the Virgin, imploring her to intercede with Christ to grant its members his grace and light.²² He also referred to Christ as the source of the water of life, which will quench the thirst of the church and its members if Mary serves as the aqueduct to transport the water to them.²³ While the first Eve was the mediator of evil, he believed that the second was the mediator of salvation. The church should have confidence in her power, Bernard asserted, because in her, through her, and from her, the bountiful hand of the Almighty recreates whatever he has created.²⁴

¹⁸ Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Concepts of 'Ecclesia' and 'Christianitas' and their relation to the Ideas of Papal 'Plenitudo Potestatis' from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII," pp. 487–515 of vol. 2 of *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, repr. from *Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII = Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 18 (1954), 49–77; on pp. 444–446 he discusses the relationship of *Ecclesia* to the pope. He notes that the terms *Ecclesia* and *Ecclesia Romana*, the pope's church, often appear to coalesce. On p. 491 he emphasizes that this equation was increasingly used from the era of Gregory VII, and that the Roman church was more clearly than ever before identified with the Universal church.

¹⁹ For literature on the *Maria Regina* model see Nilgen, "Maria Regina," n. 8, p. 6; for Alfanus and other examples of the use of the *Maria Regina* in the twelfth century revival, pp. 10–14.

²⁰ See the discussion by H. Coathalem, S. J., "Le Parallelisme entre la sainte Vierge et L'Église dans la tradition Latine jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle," *Analecta Gregoriana* 74 (Rome, 1954), pp. 87–90.

²¹ "Sermo Dominica infra Octavam Assumptionis," *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 5 *Sermones* II, ed., Leclercq & Rochais (Rome, 1968), p. 265.

²² *Ibid.*, 274.

²³ "Sermo in Nativitate Beatae Mariae: De Aquaductu," *ibid.*, 277–278.

²⁴ "In Die Pentecostes," *Sermo Secundus*: "De operibus Filii, et de triplici gratia Spiritus Sancti," *ibid.*, 167–168.

In all probability Anaclet projected Mary either as a symbol of the church or as the intercessory between the church and Christ. The argument favoring the first interpretation is that at least before the twelfth-century revival of the *Maria Regina* motif, in this guise Mary had symbolized the church. The strength of the second is that the most influential churchman during Anaclet's reign stressed it. Even though Bernard bitterly opposed Anaclet, there is no reason to believe that their theological conceptions differed. The best way of determining which model Anaclet was using is to analyze the painting as a whole, and to see which meaning makes the most sense.

Not surprisingly after her exhaustive investigation of the *Maria Regina* motif, Ursula Nilgen opts for the metaphor of Mary as the church.²⁵ She reaches her conclusion by examining how the fresco fitted into the situation of the church at the time in which it was painted. Basing her reasoning upon the Klewitz/Schmale thesis, she sees Anaclet as representing the old Gregorian position in the church. She believes that the cleavage between that position and the New Reform represented by St. Bernard and the religious leaders of the North is sharply distinguished by the absence of Honorius II in the painting. Honorius was the first pope to embrace the new ideology of the North, Nilgen maintains, and Anaclet's pointed omission of him in the series of saints in the lower section of the painting demonstrates Anaclet's rejection of that ideology. Thus, Nilgen concludes, *Maria Regina* as the church symbolized the celebration of the Gregorian papacy, and by implication, the repudiation of the new attitudes toward ecclesiastical reform.²⁶

C. ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM

But if the theory that Innocent propagated the new reform while Anaclet continued to fight the old Gregorian battles does not hold up, then Nilgen's interpretation of the painting loses its footing. Evidence suggests that this is the case. Prior to the schism both cardinals Petrus Pierleoni and Gregory of St. Angelo had nurtured the most spiritual religious movements. A brief review of the last years of their legateship to France demonstrates this commitment. Usually traveling together, Gregory and Petrus moved between the new and the old orders without distinction.²⁷ On October 27, 1123, they visited Séez in Normandy, the

²⁵ Nilgen, "Maria Regina," p. 24.

²⁶ Nilgen is joined in this conclusion by Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory*, n. 33, pp. 38–39; Bloch, *Monte Cassino* 2, p. 966 & "The Schism of Anacletus II," p. 180.

²⁷ Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Verträge von Meerssen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130* (Berlin, 1935).

bishopric of which Arnulf, Anaclet's antagonist, was then a canon. Ordericus Vitalis' account of their arrival on the very day on which Bishop Serlo died, however, reveals that both legates were accorded the greatest respect.²⁸

In January 1124 Petrus and Gregory visited one of the most ascetic of all of the new religious leaders in France, Stephen, the founder of the order of Grandmont.²⁹ Stephen granted each legate a private audience, and they both asserted afterward that they had never had such an edifying conversation. Assuredly the Holy Spirit spoke through his mouth, they declared. "Man of God," they said, "if you persevere as you have begun, without doubt you will receive a recompense equal to that of the holy apostles and of the martyrs, because you follow their route." After Stephen had blessed them, they recommended the saintly man in their prayers. Stephen died on February 8, 1124, and on March 12 Gregory and Petrus held a synod at Chartres. They spoke to the council of Stephen's heroic virtues, and prayed for his soul. Then they said, "We have prayed for him; now we pray that he will be our intercessor in the presence of God, because assuredly he reigns with Jesus Christ in heaven."³⁰

After the Council of Chartres, they confirmed documents for a number of monasteries including Cluny and its daughter house of St. Martin des Champs. The latter confirmation is of special interest because it was made to Matthew, later cardinal bishop of Albano, and Anaclet's implacable foe during the schism.³¹ Clearly there was no problem in 1124. After a few other stops the two cardinals arrived at Noyon, where on June 28, 1124, they confirmed the Praemonstratensian order of canons regular founded by Norbert of Xanten.³² The charter is of the utmost importance, for it not only shows that both Petrus and Gregory approved of the order, but also that both men greatly admired Norbert's move toward a return to the life of the primitive church. They gave thanks to the omnipotent God that Norbert had renewed the praiseworthy life of the holy fathers, and they lauded his revival of the institutions of the holy doctrine of the early church, which they lamented, had almost died out.

²⁸ Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* 6 (1978), pp. 338–339. Since Gregory signed a document dated Nov. 1, 1123 at Montecassino, he may not have been there, or else the two legates may have arrived later. See Schieffer, *Päpstlichen Legaten*, p. 215.

²⁹ A. Leclercq, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Grandmont* (Limoges, 1911), pp. 24–46.

³⁰ Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, new trans. & notes by H. Leclercq, 5:1 (Paris, 1912), pp. 648–650 & n. 3.

³¹ J. Depoin, *Recueil des Chartes et Documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs* 1 (Paris, 1912), pp. 274–275.

³² Charles Louis Hugo, *Sacri et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis annales*, vol. 1 divided into 2 parts. *Probationes primi tomi monasteriologiae* (Nancy, 1734), pp. viij–ix.

Since contemporary sources never distinguished between the two cardinals' performances as legates, the contention that Gregory made a good impression and Petrus a bad must rely upon voices raised against Petrus during the schism. Even then, no reputable spokesman, such as Suger, abbot of St. Denis, criticized him, and partisan sources are suspect. Arnulf of Séz is especially so, since the account of the two legates' visit to Séz reveals that both cardinals were well received, and that nothing untoward happened. The fact that two of the most prominent men representing the new reform—Guigo, abbot of the Grande-Chartreuse, and Hugh, bishop of Grenoble—thought of Petrus as a friend before the schism is convincing testimony that he cherished similar attitudes.³³

Moreover, the "crisis" seen until recently to have gripped the older Benedictine houses prior to the schism is now known not to have existed.³⁴ A large portion of these houses remained vital institutions well past the schism, and it is highly improbable that either Anaclet or Innocent saw themselves as representing one ideology rather than another. As a case in point, Peter the Venerable and Matthew of Albano, both staunch defenders of Cluniac traditions supported Innocent. There is no evidence at all that Honorius more than the ousted Celestine espoused the "new spirituality," and that Haimeric and the Frangipani organized the coup in the papal elections of 1124 as a desperate effort to assure that a pope imbued with northern ideals would lead the church. Haimeric was a man, who enjoyed wielding power, and he demonstrated this zest throughout the rest of his career. His alliance with the Frangipani was an insult to reform of any sort—new or old. The opportunistic family had twice attacked Gelasius II, gravely wounding him, and forcing him to flee Rome. And although one of the most important pillars of the reform was a free and regular papal election, Haimeric and the Frangipani undermined that most basic underpinning.

The inference that Petrus rejected the Concordat of Worms because it compromised his Gregorian principles is also only spun out of gossamer. Calixtus would not have rewarded him with the transference of a station when he was cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere if Petrus had opposed him on so vital an issue.³⁵ Once elected Anaclet made his

³³ *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429*, ed. Carolo Le Couteulx, vol. 1, 1084–1141 (S. Marie de Pratis, 1888), p. 333.

³⁴ See the compelling arguments advanced by John Van Engen, "The 'Crisis of Cenobitism' reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050–1150," *Speculum* (1986), 269–304.

³⁵ It is significant that when Calixtus promoted Petrus to be cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere, he not only associated Petrus with the church of his own title, but also he granted Petrus the cardinalate priesthood which held first place among the 28 titles in

commitment to the Concordat evident. He wrote extremely respectful letters to Lothar III and his queen, Richinza, requesting their recognition. Even when he failed to receive it and turned to Roger II of Sicily, he still attempted to convince Lothar to arbitrate his election and that of his challenger.³⁶ Thus, the schematic ediface constructed to explain the causes of the schism collapses, and along with it the analysis of the fresco in the chapel of St. Nicholas.

D. ANACLET AND THE PAPACY

If, therefore, the fresco was not the apotheosis of the Gregorian papacy, it was nevertheless an illumination of how Anaclet saw himself in relation to the church. His emphasis is on humility rather than on triumph. There is no thematic continuity between Calixtus' frescoes in the adjoining audience room and the apse painting. Rather than depicting himself as victorious over his adversary, Anaclet assumes a position of supplication. As the victor in Rome he could have painted Innocent cringing under his feet, serving as a *scabellum* like the defeated antipopes Calixtus painted. Or he could have painted himself among the sainted popes. Even if he could not wear the round halo, he could still do what Innocent would do in the apse mosaic in Santa Maria in Trastevere—stand on the same level as the saints and portray himself as the same size. Instead, he accentuated his lesser stature. He painted himself and Calixtus as smaller figures with square halos, and he painted these figures realistically, without the stylized frontal stare of the saint. They were mortals of flesh and blood, and by contrast with the venerable elder saints with their grey beards, Anaclet depicted himself as a beardless young man. He was only a neophyte in the church, and had not yet earned the sanctity achieved by his predecessors.

Using Calixtus as his counterpart was probably one way of acknowledging that Calixtus had constructed the chapel. But by portraying both Calixtus and himself adorned with square halos, and in the same position relative to Maria Regina, Anaclet was saying something far more important. He was implying that together they were striving toward the same goals. Calixtus as the older man had led the way, and his smooth-shaven, light-haired successor was following in his steps. Their supplication to the Virgin is almost palpable, as they appear to be physical extensions of her. For two persons to kneel at the sides of a far greater figure was a

Rome. Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 31: "Poi non senza ragione tra questi 28 titoli si mette nel primo luogo quello di S. Maria in Trastevere, perche sempre fu del primo Prete Cardinale, e vi haveva per sua propria habitatione un palazzo, di cui si dira alla chiesa di S. Calisto."

³⁶ For the arguments see Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, passim.

common motif, but to grasp the feet of this figure was much less common. By depicting Calixtus and himself in this binding linkage to Mary, Anaclet proclaims their identical relationship with the church. By this imagery he belies the ideological cleavage between Calixtus and himself conjectured by recent historians.³⁷

Whether the Maria Regina image symbolized the church or the channel between the church and Christ does not greatly affect the message of the painting. In both cases Anaclet strongly associates himself with the church in continuity with the reform papacy. But of the two possible interpretations of the Maria Regina motif, Mary as the connection between the church and Christ may be somewhat the more probable. Mary's function was not limited to the earth; she pleaded men's cause above as well. The painting emphasizes the striving upward by raising Mary's throne above the other figures, and by appending the inscription describing her as presiding in heaven—*Praesidet Aethereis pia virgo Maria Choreis*—Anaclet and Calixtus appear to be asking for her intervention in favor of the church as represented by the papacy. The sanctified popes in the lower sector affirm that she has already intervened; now Anaclet and Calixtus are praying for her continued intercession.

Other architectonic features of the painting also reveal Anaclet's conception of the papacy and the ideals for which he particularly stood. Calixtus' side of the painting stresses the pope's secular powers. The model pope directly below him is Leo I (440–461), best known for his formulation of the foundations of Roman primacy within the church, and for his courageous efforts to turn back the Huns (452), and the Vandals (455).³⁸ But the pope above Calixtus is Sylvester I, the very symbol of papal temporal authority.³⁹ As we have seen, Calixtus had already explicitly emphasized his identification with Sylvester by enclosing the altar originally built by Sylvester over St. Peter's grave with one on which his own name was engraved. Anaclet was simply reinforcing the image Calixtus had already adopted for himself.

Anaclet's side of the painting stresses the apostolic functions of the papacy. The model pope below him is Gregory I (590–604). Under the chaotic conditions created by the Justinian invasions of Italy, Gregory

³⁷ Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory*, pp. 39–47.

³⁸ *Lib. Pont.*, 1, pp. 238–241; Stanley Chodorow, "The Federalism of the Medieval Church," pp. 43–50, 146–148 of *Power Divided: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Federalism*, ed. Harry M. Scheiber & Malcolm M. Feeley, Institute of Governmental Studies (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 45–46.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 170–201; For the Donation of Constantine, Mirbt/Aland, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums* 1, pp. 251–256; also *Das Constitutum Constantini*, ed. Horst Fuhrmann, MGH Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui in Usum Scholarum NS x, pp. 93–94; Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State*, pp. 21–22.

filled the vacuum left by the absence of an imperial presence. He administered the civic functions in Rome, caring for the poor, and overseeing the distribution of food. Yet, he never tried to usurp imperial authority, and his primary orientation was religious rather than political. Like Anaclet he both came from a wealthy family and was a monk. He used his money to establish monasteries in Rome, and he himself acted as an exemplar of the religious life. He was a captivating preacher, wrote a hand book for bishops, sent a mission to convert the Anglo-Saxons in England, and did his best to reform the desperately decadent Merovingian church.⁴⁰ Petrus Mallius allocates an extraordinarily long section to Gregory, identifying him with the basilica of St. Peter.⁴¹ Along with St. Peter, Gregory was the model Bernard of Clairvaux recommended to Eugenius III.⁴²

Even more than Gregory, Anaclet I exemplifies Anaclet's emphasis on the concentration on pastoral duties. As we have seen, Anaclet I was not a shadowy figure out of the distant past, but was mentioned very prominently in pilgrim guides of this period as the creator of the memoria of St. Peter.⁴³ His biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* stresses these points and his ties with the original apostles.⁴⁴ The Pseudo Isidorian decretals, forged in the eighth century to promote papal primacy in the church, include three letters of Anaclet I affirming that "the Roman church is the church on which all other churches depend [*cardo*] and the head of all churches".⁴⁵ These decretals were influential in the twelfth century, and Anaclet may have taken their emphasis on Roman primacy into account when he chose his name.

Anaclet very purposefully placed his eponymous predecessor in this key position because he represented an ideal or power comparable to that for which Sylvester I stood for Calixtus. If Anaclet had simply been matching eponymous predecessors, he would have placed Calixtus I above Calixtus II. Anaclet I stands out in the painting as the only sainted pope not to wear the tiara, the symbol of the pope's ruling power, his *plenitudo potestatis*. His twelfth-century namesake does not deny the secular authority of the papacy, as he evinces by placing Sylvester I in a

⁴⁰ Ibid., 312–314; Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (Norwich, Eng., 1968, repr. 1970), pp. 30–33; for Leo I pp. 9, 17, 26.

⁴¹ Ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, nr. 20, pp. 402–407.

⁴² Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 3 *De Consideratione*, pp. 407–408; Josef Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, Historischen Studien, Heft 404 (Lübeck & Hamburg, 1968), p. 90.

⁴³ Barb. Lat. 2733, fol. 268r. For Anaclet I see also ch. 7, ns. 23–26.

⁴⁴ *Lib. Pont.* 1, p. 125.

⁴⁵ Hinschius, ed., *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, pp. 66–75; Bloch, "The Schism of Anacletus II," n. 87, p. 180; for a discussion of the term "*cardo*" see Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 51.

conspicuous position in the fresco, but his closest personal identification is with the church before Constantine. This affinity may have evolved from the influence which his patron, Paschal II, exerted over him. As we have seen, Paschal tried to distance the church from the secular sphere by entering into an agreement with Henry V that would have returned the episcopal *regalia* to the emperor in return for the renunciation of imperial investitures. Significantly, Anaclet's father was one of the chief negotiators of that abortive treaty.⁴⁶ In his fresco Anaclet appears to go one step further. He suggests that he would like to minimize the papacy's interest in secular affairs, and instead direct its concentration upon the governance of the church and the cure of souls.

As we shall see, Anaclet's image of the papacy differed markedly from Innocent's, but the fresco is further testimony that the cleft in attitudes toward ecclesiastical reform, which some historians believe divided the two popes, is only an illusion. This illusion is further dissipated by examining Innocent's program, which he first put forth in the Council of Clermont on November 18, 1130, and which he repeated with little variation in the synods of Rheims (1131) and Pisa (1135), and in the Second Lateran Council of 1139. Almost all of the canons restate positions, which had been articulated for decades. The one exception is a canon prohibiting Benedictine monks and canons regular from studying medicine and secular law. This innovation is in one respect ironical, for Innocent, most probably a canon regular himself, greatly accelerated the number of cases tried in papal courts, and applied secular as well as canon law.⁴⁷ St. Bernard would later decry these practices in *De Consideratione*.⁴⁸ Thus, although St. Bernard vigorously supported Innocent, the Cistercian abbot in fact was ideologically closer to Anaclet. It was Innocent's practices of ostentation and the increasing transformation of the papal court into a legal forum, which he denounced, and it was Anaclet's emphasis on humility, which he extolled.

⁴⁶ *Lib. Cens.* I, pp. 409–410. See ch. 5, esp. n. 3.

⁴⁷ For the Council of Clermont, Mansi 21:437–440; a better edition is Fedel Fita, *Actas del Concilio de Clermont (18 noviembre 1130). Revision Critica, Bolitin de la Real Academia de la Historia* 4 (1884), 360–366. Robert Somerville, "The Council of Pisa, 1135: A Re-examination of the Evidence for the canons," *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 98–114; Werner Maleczek has investigated the programs of the two popes and concludes that there were no essential differences. "Das Kardinalskollegium unter Innocenz II. und Anaklet II.," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981), esp. pp. 34–40. On p. 34 he states: "Aber eine 'Haimeric-Partei' von den kardinälen mit programmatischen Absichten, die über die Erhaltung des persönlichen Einflusses hinausgegangen wäre, ist nicht zu erkennen." On p. 40 he states: "Die Kanones liefern auch keinen Anhaltspunkt dafür, dass sich die 'Haimeric-Partei' von der Geistigkeit einer anderen, eventuell konservativeren Gruppe hatte absetzen wollen."

⁴⁸ *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Leclercq & Rochais 3, pp. 408–410, 435–439.

In sum, in the apse painting Anaclet acknowledged the temporal prerogatives of the papacy by including Sylvester I, but he himself especially identified with the pope in his capacity as the head of the church. Recognizing that all of the popes in the painting had contributed to the liberation of the church, and that they had tried to raise the standards set for its clergy, he singled out Gregory I, the first monk to have become pope, as one of the three popes, who symbolized an ideal or a position he espoused. The second was Calixtus II, the pope whose main fame stemmed from the peace he was able to achieve between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. But the size and the position of the third—Anaclet I—indicates that he was the most influential of all of the models in Anaclet's consciousness. Anaclet I represented the Petrine legacy, not only as it signified Roman primacy within the church, but also as it elicited the recollection of the more simple *vita apostolica* of the early church. Kneeling at the foot of the Virgin, Anaclet II exemplifies that attitude of humility, which St. Bernard recommended to Eugenius III in *De Consideratione*. Just as St. Bernard pointed to Peter as the pope whom Eugenius III should emulate, so also in his fresco Anaclet chose a pope representing the same tradition as his exemplar.⁴⁹

Another inscription in the chapel of St. Nicholas reinforced the contrast between the apse fresco and the triumphal paintings in the *camera pro secretis consiliis*:

The wrath of the noble lion knows to spare the prostrate
You, whoever hold dominion in the world, also do likewise.⁵⁰

This verse may be the first manifestation of the metaphor of the lion as merciful and compassionate; it could also have been an oblique reference to "Pierleoni". In all probability the verse accompanied a mural. It was about this time that a lion replaced a wolf on the Capitoline as the

⁴⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*. Vol. 13 of Cistercian Fathers series, ed. & trans. by John D. Anderson & Elizabeth T. Kennan (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1976), p. 117. "You will not deny it unless you deny you are the heir of him whose throne you hold. This is Peter, who is known never to have gone in procession adorned with either jewels or silks, covered with gold, carried on a white horse, attended by a knight or surrounded by clamoring servants. But without these trappings, he believed it was enough to be able to fulfill the Lord's command, 'If you love me, feed my sheep.' In this finery, you are the successor not of Peter, but of Constantine." Bernard goes on to say that for the time being these things may be allowed, but he admonishes Eugenius to concentrate on his pastoral responsibilities.

⁵⁰ "Parcere prostratis scit Nobilis ira leonis
Tu quoque fac simile quisquis Dominaris
in orbe."

Recorded by Pietro Sabino. Ladner thinks from the content of this inscription that it belonged to the *camera pro secretis consiliis* rather than to the chapel, but I think that it is more consonant with the views of Anaclet than with those of Calixtus. Ladner, *I Ritratti* 1, p. 213. See also Wilpert, "Kapelle des hl. Nilolaus," p. 232.

symbol of Rome, and when the Romans established a commune in 1143, a mural over the second door of the Senatorial palazzo would display a little dog lying before a ferocious lion. An accompanying verse would state:

You, who are angry, recall that the wrath of the noble lion
denies that he is a wild beast to those prostrate in themselves ⁵¹

The message in this case is that Rome is not vengeful to those, who have been vanquished. The inscription in the chapel of St. Nicholas is somewhat less clear. Although Anaclet could have been referring to the pope, the emperor, or anyone who holds power on this earth (*quisquis Dominaris*), his admonition is nevertheless unambiguous. Whoever possesses power should exercise it with mercy and restraint. This metaphor may indicate why there were no victors and no vanquished in the apse fresco.

⁵¹ Carlo Cecchelli, *Il Campidoglio* (Rome, Milan, 1925), p. 22.

Chapter 11

THE ALTAR OF AUGUSTUS IN SANTA MARIA IN CAPITOLIO

The Pierleoni holdings bordered the west and south slopes of the Capitoline, the mighty hill from which Rome once ruled the world. In the Middle Ages the Benedictine convent of Santa Maria in Capitolio, sometimes also associated with John the Baptist, graced the northeastern side of its summit.¹ The date of the building of the church is still not known, but evidence suggests that it may already have been functioning from the time of Justinian.² One of Anaclet's first acts was to confirm the jurisdiction of the convent over the entire hill.³

¹ Ronald E. Malmstrom, *S. Maria in Aracoeli at Rome*, diss. University of Michigan Microfilms 73-21-130 (1973); Idem, "The Twelfth Century Church of S. Maria in Capitolio and the Capitoline Obelisk," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976), 1-16; Huelsen, *Le Chiese*, p.323; Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 2, pp. 271-272.

² The legend is found in book X of the *Chronographia* of Johannus Malalas (c. 491-578), written in the second half of the sixth century. Malalas cites Timoteus, a Byzantine chronicler, who lived between the second half of the fifth century and the first decade of the sixth. Malalas was a great popularizer, and his chronicle was widely read even into the eleventh century. E. Chilmead, *Editio Princeps* (Oxford, 1691); Arduino Colasanti, *S. Maria in Aracoeli* (Le chiese di Roma illustrate 2) (Rome, n.d.), pp. 4-5; Paul J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, D. C., 1967), pp. 42 & n. 3, 79; H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1959), pp. 272-275; Gregorovius estimates that the present basilica was built between 850 and 944; *Rome in the Middle Ages* 4.2, pp. 471-472 & n. 1.

³ The original bull no longer exists, but is transmitted in a privilege of 1249 in which Innocent IV conceded the church and monastery to the Franciscan friars. *Annales Minorum* 2, ed. Luke Wadding (Lyons, 1628), pp. 19, 255; P. F. Casimiro Romano transmits and analyzes a slightly different version "collazionata con l'originale dell'Archivio Vaticano, e con una copia del medesimo serbata vel nostro Archivio;" *Memorie Istoriche della Chiesa e Convento di S. Maria in Araceli* (Rome, 1736), pp. 431-442; p. 432 for the privilege itself: "Quod in Apostolicae Sedis administratione, licet indigni, benignitatis intuitu assensum praebere nos conveni, quatenus quae Religionis prospectu postulata cernuntur nostrae concessionis vigore clarescant, ac firma in posterum perpetuitate serventur. Tuis igitur dilecte in Christo fili Johannes Abbas, & Fratrum tuorum precibus annuentes, commisso tibi ejusdem Dei Genetricis Monasterio concedimus & confirmamus totum Montem Capitolii in integrum cum casis, cryptis, cellis, curtibus, hortis, arboribus fructiferis, & infructiferis, cum porticu Camellariae, cum terra ante Monasterium, qui locus Nundinarum vocatur, cum parietibus, petris, & columpnis, & omnibus ad eum generaliter pertinentibus, qui istis finibus terminatur. . . . Circa eundem vero Montem concedimus & confirmamus tibi, tuisque Successoribus domos, casalinas, cryptas, argasteria in Mercato, totum Montem praedictum Capitolii in integrum, & cetera omnia, quae in Monte, vel circa Montem sunt." See also Henry Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* 2 (Berlin, 1871), p. 667; Krautheimer, *Rome*, pp. 285-286 & ns.; Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* 4.2, p. 466 & n. 1; 469 & n. 2.

This was a revolutionary move. To put the administrative center of Rome and its environs under the jurisdiction of a convent was unprecedented, and in taking this dramatic initiative Anaclet must have had a well conceived plan. Many possible explanations for his strategy come to mind. As a minimum, control of the hill by Santa Maria would keep other competitive, or even threatening families from dominating this military stronghold. Should they try, the Pierleoni would be on hand to defend the convent, conceivably even extending their power over the Capitoline. In the time of Gregory VII the Corsini had held fortifications on the hill, and had defended it for the pope against the attack by Henry IV.

The privilege might also have been part of a move to revise the administration of Rome, and possibly of the empire itself. Anaclet never emphasized the ruling attributes of the papacy, and perhaps he sympathized with the movement to reconstitute the Senate as the deliberating body of the empire. In 1143, shortly after Anaclet's death, the Senate was revived with his brother, Jordan, as consul. Its seat was the Capitoline. The cloisters adjoining the church served as a meeting place for the municipal magistrates, and later on the advice of Arnold of Brescia a new palazzo was built on the site of the old Tabularium. But the Senate never flourished, for the papacy, the emperor, and the Roman aristocratic families, including Anaclet's other brothers, all opposed it. Innocent resisted this competitor to papal rule, and in February 1145 Lucius II died in an attack upon the hill, which the Senate successfully repelled. Although the fortunes of the Senate ebbed, the idea persisted in some form. By the fourteenth century Santa Maria in Aracoeli, as the old convent was then called, and which was under the jurisdiction of the Franciscans, virtually functioned as the church of the Roman Senate.⁴

A. LEGENDS OF THE VISION

If Anaclet's privilege may have paved the way for the cooperation between the convent and the Senate, the altar of Augustus may reveal his conception of the relationship between the emperor and the church. Besides the convent's strategic location, it was also thought to have been the site on which Augustus received his legendary vision. In the Middle Ages this vision was interpreted to have been a prediction of the birth of Christ, and was associated with the Fourth *Eclogue* of Virgil, which from the time of Constantine was interpreted as prophesizing the coming of the Messiah.⁵ According to an earlier legend arising from the East,

⁴ Castagnoli, et al., *Topografia e Urbanistica di Roma*, pt. II Cecchelli, *Roma Medioevale*, p. 299.

⁵ Philippe Verdier, "La Naissance à Rome de la Vision de l'ara Coeli: Un Aspect de l'Utopie

Augustus consulted the Pythian about his successor. After some time the priestess responded that a young Jew, lord of the heavens, told her to counsel Augustus not to honor other sacrifices on his altar. Upon hearing this reply, Augustus climbed to the top of the Capitoline, and raised an altar to the first born of God.⁶

The western version of the legend appears for the first time in the *Mirabilia*, the first redaction of which was completed between the time when Innocent returned to Rome and his death (1140–1143).⁷ Largely because the *Mirabilia* appears in the *Liber Politicus*, Duchesne and others believe that Benedict, the canon of St. Peter's who wrote the *Liber Politicus*, also wrote the *Mirabilia*. Because some of the content distances itself from the papacy, however, and, indeed, because some of it even appears to be anti-papal, it is far from certain that Benedict, a promoter of the papacy, would have written such a tract. But whoever the author was, he changed the whole nature of the legend.⁸ The story takes on a

de la Paix Perpétuelle à Travers un Thème Iconographique," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 94 (1982), 85–119, at p. 86.

⁶ This is the first version of the legend, transmitted in the sixth century by Johannes Malalas. Similar versions were transmitted by Nicephorus of Constantinople and Suidas. Flourishing from 1320–1338, Nicephorus was the last of the Greek ecclesiastical historians. Suidas was a Greek lexicographer, who lived during the reign of Alexius Comnenus from the end of the eleventh century to the beginning of the twelfth. Suidas, *Lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1928), p. 411; *Nicephori Callisti Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, lib. 1, ch. 17, PG 145:682–683: "Caesar autem Augustus quam plurimis praeclare feliciterque gestis rebus clarus, primusque ipse monarcha renuntiatus, proveciore jam aetate ad oraculum Pythii Apollinis venit: et sacrificio omnium maximo, quod hecatombe dicitur daemioni oblato, quaesivit, quisnam post eum Romanum administraturus esset imperium? At cum nullum ederetur responsum, alterum quoque adiecit sacrificium, dennoque rogavit, qui ita oraculum pluribus verbis uti solitum, nunc tandem ad hunc modum respondit:

"Me puer Hebraeus, divos Deus ipse gubernans,
cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub Orcum:
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus abscedio nostris."

Tali responso accepto, Caesar Romam est reversus, atque ibi in Capitolio aram maximam exstruxit, cum ejusmodi Latina inscriptione: "Ara primogeniti Dei." Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 426: "Ferunt etiam Augustum Caesarem qui tunc Romani Orbis Monarchiam obtinebat. Pithium Apollinem per haec ipsa tempora interrogasse quisnam post eum Romanum administraturus esset Imperium, eique Oraculum de alia re ita respondisse: 'Me puer hebraeus dios Deus ipse gubernas—Cedere sede iubet tristemque redire sub Orcum.—Aris ergo dehinc tacitus abscedio nostris.' Quo responso accepto Caesar Aram maximam cum ejusmodi latino elogio Dei huic dedicavit: DEI PRIMOGENITO. Haec Nicephorus Graecus historiae Ecclesiasticae scriptor. Adjicit Orosius Augustum Caesarem tunc ne quis se dominum deinceps vocaret gravi edicto prohibuisse. Is forte divinitus tacitus id fieri jusserat, quod verus Orbis terrarum Princeps Mundi totius Dominus natus esset." *Mirabilia*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 29, n. 1; Casimiro Romano, *Memorie S. Maria in Araceli*, pp. 157–158; Malmstrom, "The Twelfth Century Church of S. Maria in Capitolio, p. 16; Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* 4.2, p. 473, n. 2.

⁷ *Mirabilia*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 28–29; Colasanti, *S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 3; Malmstrom, "The Twelfth Century Church of S. Maria in Capitolio," p. 16.

⁸ Malmstrom, *Santa Maria in Araceli*, pp. 55–59; Malmstrom concludes that the author was not simply repeating a legend common in the first part of the twelfth century, but invented his own version. See also Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* 4.2, pp. 472–474.

Roman cast, with the substitution of the Tiburtine Sibyl for the Pythian. The questions Augustus asked are changed, and a celestial apparition is added. The narrative goes as follows:⁹

Senators observed that Octavian was of such great beauty that no one could look into his eyes, and of such great prosperity and peace that the whole world paid tribute to him. Seeing the deity in him, the senators declared that they wished to adore him. Resisting their pleas, Octavian contacted the Sibyl of Tibur, and told her what the senators had said. After a three-day fast the Sibyl responded. Among other prophesies she predicted:

Sign of Judgment, the earth shall become moist with sweat;
From heaven the king shall come through the ages of the future,
Present, namely, in the flesh, in order that he may judge the world.¹⁰

On that very spot the sky opened, and an incredible brilliance shown over Octavian; and he saw in the heaven an exceedingly beautiful virgin standing over an altar, holding a young boy in her arms. Marveling greatly, he heard a voice cry out: "This is the altar of the son of God." Octavian described the vision to the senators, and they themselves were greatly astonished. The *Mirabilia* states that Octavian saw this vision in one of his rooms, where the church of Santa Maria in Capitolio is now located. Commemorating the vision, the *Mirabilia* says that the church is accordingly called Santa Maria Ara Coeli. At the base of the third pillar on

⁹ *Mirabilia*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, # 11. pp. 28–29; The *Mirabilia* refers to the vision again briefly in describing the Capitoline, # 23, p. 52: "In loco ubi nunc est Sancta Maria, fuere duo templa simul iuncta cum palatio, Phoebi et Carmentis, ubi Octavianus imperator vidit visionem in caelo." A version from Brussels, ms. 11024–28, fols. 9–12v is transmitted by Lauer, *Palais du Latran*, pp. 408–409: "Juxta Capitolium est ecclesia in qua Fratres manent Minores, et ibi juxta unum altare sic scribitur: 'Hec est illa venerabilis ara celi, de qua habetur in legenda Nativitatis Domini in hec verba: Octavianus imperator toto orbe subjugato in tantum senatui placuit ut eum pro Deo colere vellent. Prudens autem imperator se mortalem cognoscens divinitatis jus sibi usurpare noluit, de senatus tum importuna instantia Sibillam prophetissam advocat scire volens per ejus oracula si in mundo major eo umquam nasceretur. Cum igitur camera imperatoris erat oraret in meridie, circuli virgo pulcherrima puerum habens in brachiis. Tunc Sibilla hec imperatori ostendit, qui admirans de tam insolita visione audivit vocem dicentem sibi: 'Hec est ara celi', statimque hanc aram construxit ac Xpisto et matri thura obtulit. Unde ad perpetuam memoriam omnium praedictorum et ut cunctis pateat hoc fore primum altare mundi inter duas columnas sculptos invenies hos versus:

Universis hanc almam matris qui scandis ad aulam Cunctarum prima que fuit orbe sita,
Noscas quod Cesar tunc struxit Octavianus Hanc aram celi sacra proles cum patet ei.

Postmodum Anacletus papa, qui fuit quartus post Petrum, hanc venerabilem aram celi consecravit et dedicavit. In hac venerabili ara jacet corpus sancte Helene, matris Constantini imperatoris, quae invenit crucem Domini."

¹⁰ The Guide to Santa Maria in Araceoli written by Emanuele Romanelli presents a less literal translation; (no page number): "I see clear signs that justice will be done: soon the earth will be wet with sweat and from the sky will descend the King of the ages."

the left of the main entrance of the present church capital letters of the second or third century a.d. state, "A CUBICULO AUGUSTORUM."

The version in the *Graphia Aureae Urbis*, in all probability written by Peter the Deacon, differs slightly, but significantly. One of the most important changes is that two voices speak from heaven. The first voice says, "This virgin is about to take to herself the savior of the world."¹¹ This declaration makes it clear that the son of God referred to in the *Mirabilia* is Christ. The second change is an addition to the end of the legend. The author relates that when on another day the people decreed that Octavian should be called "lord", he immediately rejected their wish. He would not even permit his sons to call him "lord", saying that since he was mortal, he did not wish to be called "lord".¹² The *Graphia* omits any reference to Santa Maria in Capitolio or the ara coeli.

The main effect of the changes in the *Graphia* is to emphasize that the lord of heaven is the savior of the world, and that the secular ruler makes no pretense to divine power. The emphasis in the *Mirabilia* is rather to associate the vision of Augustus with Santa Maria in Capitolio and the ara coeli. Possibly because of the consecration of the altar at approximately the time of the composition of the *Mirabilia*, the author wished to emphasize this connection. It is not too fanciful to speculate that the *Mirabilia* emerged out of Anaclet's circle, and that he used the privilege, the legend, and the consecration of the altar to reveal his conception of how Christian society ought to be governed. Conspicuously missing is any emphasis on a papal secular role.

The concatenation of circumstances unfolds as follows. The legend in the *Mirabilia* stresses the connection between Santa Maria in Capitolio, the Senate, and the enlightened emperor. Concomitantly with the appearance of the *Mirabilia* the Senate establishes itself on the Capitoline, over which Anaclet has recently granted jurisdiction to Santa Maria. A close interaction ensues between the Senate and the convent, allegedly—and significantly—originally Octavian's palace. Christ, rather than Octavian, is the lord, and as a divine being, he stands above both the emperor and the Senate. Implied is the premise that the church as Christ's representative on earth is the repository of his spiritual power. Reflecting the more aggressive claims of the papacy in the thirteenth century, the version of the legend preserved by Jacobus a Voragine accentuates the Sibyl's

¹¹ Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, # 32, pp. 89–90: "Haec virgo conceptura est salvatorem mundi." "Conceptura est" could be translated as "was about to conceive", but it would make no sense because she was already holding the boy in her arms.

¹² Ibid.: "Cum sim mortalis, dominum me dicere nolo."

assertions that the boy was superior to Octavian, and that the emperor accepted his inferior position.¹³

B. THE ALTAR

An ancient altar commemorated the vision. Now known to have been created in the twelfth century, it was discovered at the beginning of the seventeenth.¹⁴ It had a ciborium of marble supported by four columns of ancient green marble. A drawing made at the time it was replaced reveals the details (plate 41). The face of the altar still exists, and can be seen on the lower level of the twelfth-century church through a window in the chapel of S. Elena in the left choir. In the center above the porphyry door closing the *confessio* is sculpted the lamb with the cross, the ancient symbol of Jesus Christ used by the Christians even before the time of Constantine.¹⁵ Above the second arch over the lamb are figures to the right and the left. On the right in a rounded mandorla the virgin holds the Christchild. On the left, wearing a short tunic and a crown quite like the figure of Charlemagne in the Triclinium of Leo III in the Lateran palace, Octavian is worshipping the Virgin and her son. His position is similar to those of Anaclet and Calixtus in the apse painting in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran Palace, except that he is across from the Virgin instead of at her feet.¹⁶ Also like Anaclet in the apse fresco, he is shaven. The imagery is thought to symbolize a utopia of perpetual peace.¹⁷

¹³ *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1850), p. 44: "Octavianus insuper imperator ut ait Innocentius papa (tertius) universo orbe ditioni Romanae subjugato in tantum senatui placuit, ut eum pro Deo colere vellent. Prudens autem imperator se mortalem intelligens immortalitatis nomen sibi noluit usurpare. Ad illorum instantiam Sibyllam prophetissam advocat, scire volens per ejus oracula, an in mundo major eo aliquando nasceretur. Cum ergo in die nativitatis domini consilium super hac re convocasset et Sibylla sola in camera imperatoris oculis insisteret, in die media circulus aureus apparuit circa solem et in medio circuli virgo pulcherrima, puerum gestans in gremio. Tunc Sibylla hoc Caesar ostendit, cum autem imperator ad praedictam visionem plurimum admirearetur, audit vocem dicentem sibi: Haec est ara coeli, dixitque ei Sibylla: hic puer major te est et ideo ipsum adora. Eadem autem camera in honore Sanctae Mariae dedicata est, unde usque hodie dicitur Sancta Maria Ara Coeli. Intelligens igitur imperator, quod hic puer major se erat, ei thura obtulit et Deus de caetera dici recusavit. De hoc autem Orosius ita dicit: Octaviani tempore hora circiter tertio repente coelo liquido ac puro et sereno circulus ad speciem coelestis alicujus arcus orbem solis ambivit, quasi venturus esset, qui ipsum solem solus mundumque totum et fecisset et regeret. Haec Orosius." A third edition of 1890, repr. Osnabruck, 1965, was not available to me.

¹⁴ Casimiro Romano, *Memorie S. Maria Araceli*, p. 162.

¹⁵ Malmstrom, "The Twelfth Century Church of S. Maria in Capitolio," pp. 11–12; Malmstrom cites the problems still unsolved: date, present sunken position, essential meaning. He suggests that it may have been the location of the high altar of the Benedictine church. Verdier, "La Naissance," pp. 100–102; Edward Hutton, *The Cosmati* (London, 1950), p. 7.

¹⁶ Casimiro Romano, *Memorie S. Maria Araceli*, pp. 161–162.

¹⁷ Verdier, "La Naissance," p. 89; Verdier notes that on fol. 138 of the *Liber Floridus*,

The identity of the creator of the altar and its consecrator are still contentious. In recalling the earlier legend from the East, Callistus Nicephorus stated that after Augustus had heard the response of the oracle, he raised an altar on the Capitoline with the Latin inscription, "Ara primogeniti Dei."¹⁸ The inscription on the existing altar also attributes its construction to Augustus:

Luminis hanc almam matris qui scandis ad aulam cunctarum prima que fuit
orbe sita

Noscas quod Cesar tunc struxit Octavianus hanc ara[m] celi sacra proles
cum patet ei.

You, who ascend to the Holy church of the Mother of Light, the first of all
founded in the city,

Know that the emperor at that time, Octavian, built this altar when the holy
off-spring of Heaven was revealed to him.¹⁹

Although the attribution of the first altar to Augustus is only legendary, no doubt an altar in the early church commemorated his reported vision. Many twelfth-century sources refer to an altar. The earliest version of the *Descriptio Basilicae Lateranensis*, written between the reigns of Alexander II and Paschal II, refers to an "ara caeli Dei", and the later version of Johannes Diaconus calls it the "ara Filii Dei". Petrus Mallius, who, like Johannes, lived during the reign of Alexander III (1159–1181), also mentions such an altar.²⁰ The consensus is that the present structure dates to the twelfth century.²¹

written by the canon Lambert of Saint-Omer, there is a portrait of Augustus holding the sword and the imperial globe; on the bottom an inscription recalls that on January 6 for the pre-anniversary of Epiphany the emperor closed the doors of Janus as a sign of the end of war. *Liber floridus*, ed. Derolez, p. 280.

¹⁸ PG 145:682–683; see n. 6 above; Suidas also speaks of the inscription, *Lexicon*, p. 411; Casimiro Romano, *Memorie S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 161; Casimiro believes that the altar had to have been constructed by the time of Suidas, but he notes that Baronius believed that Augustus himself raised it.

¹⁹ Forcella, *Iscrizioni* 1, # 474, p. 131; Malmstrom, *S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 77; T. Ashby, "The Capitol, Rome; Its History and Development," *The Town Planning Review* 12 (1927), 159–173, at p. 162 & n. 5.

²⁰ Giorgi, *De Liturgia* 3, p. 554: "Sanctae Mariae in Capitolio, ubi est ara caeli Dei". Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografia* 3, p. 361: "Sanctae Mariae in Capitolio, ubi est ara Filii Dei." Petrus Mallius, *ibid.*, 439.

²¹ Peter Cornelius Claussen attempts to date the altar from its design, but admits that its features do not identify it with a specific period. He speculates that the artist attempted to infuse the altar with ancient forms, such as the fauns' heads on the capitals, to create a classical setting. He further suggests that it was created before the repertory of forms of the workshop of the *marmorarii*, Laurentius and Jacobus, became dominate in the later twelfth century. *Magistri Doctissimi Romani: Die Römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters* (Corpus Cosmatorum I) (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 62–63 & illustration # 68. In the current guide to Santa Maria, Emanuele Romanelli dates the altar to the time of Anaclet II.

Scraps of ancient sources and odd bits of evidence suggest that Anaclet consecrated an altar, which may have been constructed under his guidance. We know from his confirmation of the property of the church that he favored the convent, and granted it vast power. We also know that he is thought to have brought the relics of S. Elena, the mother of Constantine, to the church from its mausoleum on the Via Labicana. Today they rest in a twelfth-century sandalwood box of Arabic-Sicilian artistry within an urn of ancient porphyry containing other relics. The urn is the focus of a chapel dedicated to St. Elena built in the seventeenth century above the twelfth-century altar.²²

C. THE CONSECRATOR: ANACLET I OR ANACLET II

Different sources attribute the consecration of the altar to Anaclet I. In his annals of the Franciscans, who later occupied the church, Luke Wadding notes that a tablet in the region of the altar states that Anaclet I, the fourth pontiff after St. Peter, consecrated the altar.²³ The *vita* of St. Anaclet [I] in the edition of Ciaconius, revised by Augustinus Oldoinus, repeats this attribution.²⁴ A poem in the much later *Memoriale de Mirabilibus* picks up this same tradition. Commemorating the famous miracle of Santa Maria Ara Coeli of Octavian, it states:

Caesaris haec aedes conditur sacra domus
Ad honorem matris Christi; perficitur late,
Atque ante ipsam nulla reperitur in orbe.
Tandem Anacletus consecravit ipse papa,
Hic aeternam largam veniam culparum relinquens.²⁵

But both Wadding and Casimiro Romano argue that Anaclet I could not have consecrated the altar, and that it had to have been Anaclet II. Wadding points out that in the time of Anaclet I a pagan temple still existed on the spot where the church would be constructed. He is aware that as a pope not recognized by the church, Anaclet II would not be commemorated, but he concludes that circumstantial evidence strongly

²² Malmstrom, *S. Maria in Aracoeli*, n. 50, p. 102. Wadding discusses the various legends about the relics of St. Helen, and concludes that they were probably distributed in many places, and among them, S. Maria in Capitolio. *Annales* 2, pp. 20–21. The origin of the box suggests a connection with Anaclet, since he had close relations with Roger II of Sicily.

²³ *Annales Minorum* 2, p. 18: "Consecrasse hanc Aram Anacletum Papam, quartum a B. Petro Pontificem, habet e regione appensa tabella;"

²⁴ Ciaconius, *Vitae et Res Restae*, rev. Augustinus Oldoinus, S.J., 1, col. 96: "Aram Coeli ab Octaviano, vt ferunt erectam consecrauit, Virginique Matri dedicauit." Casimiro Romano, *Memorie di S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 162.

²⁵ *Memoriale de Mirabilibus et Indulgentiis quae in Urbe Roma Existunt* by an anonymous author, but probably a Benedictine who lived at the time of Urban V & Gregory XI, and who was an official of the curia. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 4, p. 83.

suggests that Anaclet II was the consecrator. Wadding cites Anaclet's very extensive privilege to Santa Maria in Capitolio, and observes that emulating Calixtus II, Anaclet consecrated many altars during his reign in Rome.²⁶ Casimiro Romano also notes that the church was built long after the death of Anaclet I in 95, and that in all probability Anaclet II consecrated the altar.²⁷

When Ottavio Panciroli related the story of Augustus and the response of the Sibyl in the seventeenth century, he followed the sources in reporting that the altar Augustus raised was inscribed, *Ara primogeniti Dei*, and then added that Anaclet II had consecrated it. Relying upon information he had gleaned from the history of Saints Abbondio and Abbondantio, he stated that Anaclet had the bodies of the two saints removed from a well in the midst of San Bartolomeo al'Isola. From there he had them transferred to the basilica of Saints Cosma e Damiano, where he had been cardinal deacon. Then, Panciroli continues, having consecrated the altar of Ara Coeli in Santa Maria in Capitolio, Anaclet donated the head of Saint Abbondio to the church. Again, following the lives of the two saints, Panciroli further relates that in 1130 Anaclet enclosed this sacred spot with four columns.²⁸

²⁶ Wadding, *Annales Minorum* 2, p. 19. Anaclet may also have been responsible for S. Silvestro in Capite's acquisition of the head of St. John the Baptist between 1130–1133. Giovanni Giacchetti, *Historia della venerabilie chiesa et monasterio di S. Silvestro de Capite di Roma* (Rome, 1629), p. 27. Giacchetti mentions that certain manuscripts in the monastery mention the translation: "Translatum fuit Innocentio Secundo Papa non sedente, sed regnante. E cui s'intende di quelli primi tre anni del suo Pontificato, quando per cedere all'audaci forze, e temerita di Pier Leone Antipapa, chiamato Anacleto Secondo, il predetto Innocentio fu necessitato partirsi di Roma, e cosi in ogni altro loco, egli come vero Pontifice regnava, e da tutti Principi temporali, & Ecclesiastiche Dignita era ricevuto, & adorato per Sommo Pontifice, solamente in Roma la sua Sede tirannicamente era occupata da quel scismatico pseudopapa Anacleto Secondo. . . . Ma ritornando al sacro Capo di S. Giov. Battista, segno pur di gran devotione deve giudicarsi, che nelle gravi necessita di Roma, o nelle solenne feste della Chiesa, il Venerabile Capo era portato in processione per Roma da quattro Archivescovi con solennissima pompa, e molto piu con attenta custodia;" Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 4, p. 146.

²⁷ Casimiro Romano, *Memorie S. Mara in Araceli*, p. 162.

²⁸ Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 69. After stating that Augustus raised an altar with the inscription, "Ara primogeniti Dei", Panciroli continues: "Con ragione dunque si e tenuta sempre memoria di questo luogo, che'e a poco discosto dall'altare maggiore, verso la parte dell'Evangelio, onde l'anno 1130. Anacleto (ancorche Antipapa) lo cinse di quattro Colonne, *Ex hist. SS. Abun. & Abund. in secunda eorum trans.* & il 1603. il Vescovo Cavallicense Girolamo Centelli lo fece risplendere con bellissimi lavori di marmi in forma d'una cuppola, che sopra v'inalzo ne altro nome si da a questa santa cappella, che *Ara Coeli*." Casimiro Romano disagrees with Panciroli that Anaclet constructed the four columns, and says that it is even dubious that he consecrated the altar. Nevertheless, he quotes from the saints lives, *SS. Abbondio ed Abbondanzio*, which very specifically state that Anaclet did dedicate the altar. *Memorie S. Maria in Araceli*, p. 162: "Anacleto II. huic, praeter alia, hoc quoque tribuendum videtur, quod altare in Templo B. Mariae Aracoeli situm ante sacrarium, & marmoreo ciborio, quod columnis quatuor viridibus maculosis sustentatur, con tectum dedicaverit."

The saints' lives themselves reveal a treasure trove of detail in describing the translation of the relics from San Bartholomeo al'Isola to Santa Maria in Capitolio. Their hagiographer asserts that the Pierleoni were members of the highest Roman nobility, and men of great power. After describing the raising of Petrus Pierleoni to the cardinalate by Paschal, and his promotion to cardinal priest by Calixtus, the author then presents the church's view of the papal schism of 1130. Having forthrightly explained that the church regarded Innocent to be the true pope, the author makes no attempt to conceal Anaclet's involvement with the Aracoeli. He states that Anaclet dedicated the altar in the temple of Beatae Mariae Araeaeli, and describes its position as situated before the sacrarium. He adds that it had a marble ciborio, which was supported by four columns of dappled green [marble] with a roof.

Again the author addresses himself to the identity of the Anaclet who consecrated the altar, and argues that it was the second, and not the first, as some authors contend.²⁹ He says that the first altar was made of wood, but that Sylvester replaced it with one of stone, which he consecrated. Since one of the popes named Anaclet dedicated this altar, the hagiographer asserts that it had to be Anaclet II, since Anaclet I lived before Sylvester. Returning to his subjects, the author relates that before the time of the consecration, the relics of Saints Abundio and Abundantio had not been in that church [S. Maria in Capitolio], but that Anaclet donated the head of Saint Abundio. The author concludes his description of the translation of the relics by mentioning that Anaclet transported the relics of the two saints to the church of Saints Cosma and Damiano because he wished to honor his old cardinalate church. He notes that Anaclet also consecrated the altar there.³⁰

²⁹ For an example of this no doubt originally intentional confusion see *Memoriale de Mirabilibus*, Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 4, p. 82: "Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae de Ara Caeli. . . . Haec est illa ecclesia ubi fuit primum altare Virginis Mariae, quod est ad unum latus in capite ipsius ecclesiae, dedicatum per Octavianum imperatorem et consecratum per Anacletum papam, qui fuit quartus post beatum Petrum." In n. 2 the editors correct the reference to Anaclet II. Cf. n. 25 above.

³⁰ *Sanctorum Martyrum Abundii Presbyteri, Abundantii Diaconi, Mariani, & Ioannis eius filii, Passio Ex tribus vetustissimis, & manu scriptis codicibus de prompta, cui additae sunt Inventiones, & Translationes, & ad historiam Notae*. Written by a Jesuit in the reign of Gregory XIII (Rome, 1584), p. 33: "Petrus, civis Romanus, Petri Leonis, a quo Pierleonia familia Romae manavit nobilissimi, ac potentissimi viri, filius primum Diaconus Card. in Diaconia SS. Cosmae & Damiani a Paschale ij. deinde sanctae Mariae trans Tiberim in titulo Callisti Presbyter Card. a Callisto II. creatus, demum mortuo Honorio II. in schismate adversus Innocentium II. eodem die xvj. Kal. Martias anno salutis MCXXX. Inp. Lothario iuniore, illegitimis suffragijs renunciatus est Pont. max. & Anacletus ij. appellatus; qui (cum Innocentius tempori cedens, ambitioni hominis potentiam, seditionemq. declinans, in Etruriam . . . Romae Apostolicam cathedram astu occupatam, vi, atq. opibus tenuit, quoad vixit, hoc est, annis septem, mensibus novem, diebus decem. Huic praeter alia, hoc quoque tribuendum videtur, quod altare in templo Beatae Mariae Araeaeli, situm ante sacrarium &

The story has the ring of truth, for all of its details fit. The Pierleoni family had long held sway over the isola, and Anaclet favored San Bartholomeo.³¹ That he singled out his first cardinalate church of Saints Cosma and Damiano for special consideration also makes sense. Finally, by confirming the privileges of Santa Maria in Capitolio he was announcing that the convent controlled this economically and politically crucial hill.

marmoreo ciborio, quod columnis quatuor viridibus maculosis sustentatur, con tectum dedicaverit. Huic enim id adscribendum est, non autem S. Anacleto, quo Pontifice sub Domitiano Imperatore, ut Onufrio, ut plerisque placet, Gratiano Cesare, in eo loco adhuc Iovis Feretrij sanum erat (quod Romulus fecit, Ancus Marcius auxit, C. Caesar instauravit: in cuius postea ruinis B. Gregorius Magnus Ecclesiam Christianam ritu, & Monachorum coenobium dicitur extruisse) & in altari ligneo propter persecutiones sacrificasse legimus Christianos sacerdotes ante tempora B. Sylvestri, qui, reddita Ecclesiae pace, primus altare lapideum consecravit. Itaque si Anacletus hoc altare, de quo agimus, ut dicitur, dedicavit, hunc Petrum Leonis, qui Anacleti secundi nomen adsumpsit, fuisse necesse est. In quo quidem altari, cum aliorum sanctorum ossa, tum non nihil etiam ex Abundij, & Abundantij martyrum reliquijs conditum existimatur. In eadem certe Basilica caput S. Abundij presb. & martyris argento tectum religiose asseruatur, & visitur: quod unum ceteris amborum martyrum ossibus deest, atque huius Abundij esse, qui cum Abundantio passus est, post docebimus. Fieri ergo potuit, ut hic pseudo papa, cum vellet simul SS. Cosmae & Damiani, quam ipse obtinuerat, Diaconiam insigni alioquo munere cohonestare, simul aram illam, quam sollemni ritu sacre constituisset, horum etiam martyrum reliquijs, & praecipue S. Abundij capite, quod postea in medium prolatum est, exornare: fieri, inquam potuit, ut sacra corpora ex Insula Tiberina in templum SS. Cosmae & Damiani ad forum Romanum per id tempus deportauerit." Wadding, *Annales* 2, p. 21, quotes this passage from "In quo quidem" to "exornare" in describing what relics were preserved in the altar. Casimiro Romano (*Della Chiesa e Convento di Araceli*, p. 164) says that the relics thought to reside in the porphyry urn are those of S. Elena, S. Artemio Tribuno, SS. Abbondio Prete, Abbondanzio Diacono.

³¹ The hagiographer mentions a letter, which Anaclet wrote to the priests, Angelus and Brisottus, of San Bartholomeo, but of which there is no record today. *Passio SS. Abundij & Sociorum*, Notae ad Historiam, p. 151: "Extant quoque litterae Petri Leonis, sive Anacleti Pseudopapae ad Angelum & Brisottum presbyteros Ecclesiae S. Christi martyris Adelberti, quae sita est in Insula Lycaonia, quae modo vocatur S. Bartholomaeus, scriptae anno Domini M. CXXX. quibus ex verbis intelligimus huic olim Ecclesiae Sacerdotes eos praefuisse, quos Canonicos appellamus." In his *regesta* of the documents of Anaclet, Palumbo (*Lo Scisma*, pp. 674-675) does not mention such a letter, but he does describe a tablet in which Anaclet sanctioned the liberty of burial in the church, and the maximum indulgence to those who were buried there. On the same marble plaque there were privileges of Alexander III and Celestine III. Someone, perhaps in the fifteenth or sixteenth century omitted the part on Anaclet, but a copyist in the seventeenth century added the following note at the bottom of the page: "Hoc fuit deletum eo, quod dictus Anacletus fuit Antipapa, et quamvis sit in tabula manuscripta antiqua, supradicta tamen in nova non fuit scriptum . . ." The original inscription was copied by Franciscus Dinus, *Dissertatio Historico-critica de Translatione, & Collocatione Corporis S. Bartholomaei Apostoli Romae in insula Lycaonia* (Venice, 1700), p. 13: "Anacletus II. Episcopus servus Servorum Dei Dilectis in Domino filiis Angelo & Brisotto Praesbiteris Ecclesiae S. Xpi Martyris Adalberti, quae sita est in Insula Lycaonia, quae modo vocatur Sancti Bartholomaei etc. Et ipse Sum. Pontifex una cum toto Clero Romano accesserunt ad dictam Ecclesiam S. Bartholomaei Apostoli, et Paulini Confessoris, et concessit omnibus, et singulis, qui in dicta Ecclesia sepellirentur, quod nullus sit ausus impedire, sicut continetur in privilegiis. Tenor privilegii talis est: Sepulturam quoque eisdem Ecclesiae liberam esse sancimus, ut . . . qui illic sepeliri deliberaverint devotioni, et extremae voluntati nullus obsistat. Et concessit illis, qui in dicta Ecclesia sepelirentur maximam Indulgentiam. Dat. Romae Anno Domini MCXXXIII. Pontificatus sui Anno Quinto." The inscription was taken from Collegium Romanum PP. iesuitarum in notis Actorum S. Abundij, & Abundantij Gregorij XIII dictatum (Rome, 1584), p. 149.

This affirmation would serve to keep the Capitoline out of the hands of the competitive Roman families, and would allow the papacy to exercise greater authority over the ruling center of Rome.

D. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONSECRATION

Beyond any papal advantages, the consecration of the altar offered a widely publicized forum for Anaclet's own religious and ecclesiastical convictions. These are revealed not only from its iconography, but also from the mere fact that he dedicated it. What prompted his dedication, since according to the *Passio SS. Abundii & Sociorum* a stone altar built by Sylvester already existed? Part of the answer may be that Sylvester's altar was in a state of disrepair, and needed to be restored. Then, with the addition of the new relics, it could be reconsecrated, just as Calixtus reconsecrated the major altar at St. Peter's.

Perhaps of greater significance than the structural need to rebuild the ancient altar, the consecration was timed to coincide with the dissemination of the revised version of the vision of Augustus. About this time the eastern legend was being dramatically embellished, possibly by the circle to which Anaclet belonged, and was soon to appear in the *Mirabilia*. The imagery of the altar reflects this recasting of the myth, and has the earmark of iconography associated with Anaclet. The lamb as a pre-Constantinian symbol is consistent with the paleochristian imagery of the throne in San Lorenzo in Lucina and the apse mosaic in San Clemente. The figure of Augustus is similar to the figures of Anaclet and Calixtus in the apse fresco in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace. Like the two popes in that fresco, Augustus is portrayed as worshipping the Virgin holding the Christchild. The ideals Anaclet revealed in his iconography elsewhere are present in the symbolism of the altar, and suggest his involvement with its motifs.

Through his consecration Anaclet celebrated the new image of the altar—the miraculous birth of the Christchild, who would be the savior of the world. With the same stroke he honored the emperor and emphasized that Augustus had relinquished all claims to divinity. In this sense Anaclet's message was a declaration of reconciliation and of a desire for peaceful coexistence between the two powers.

Chapter 12

INNOCENT II: SANTA MARIA IN TRASTEVERE

When Innocent returned to Rome at the end of 1137 after his many years in exile, his first order of priority was to consolidate his authority over the church. Heretofore he and his able and experienced curia had been brilliantly successful north of the Alps, but Rome had always eluded him. Now he had to gain the fidelity of its notoriously pragmatic populace, and to bring the dissidents within the church back into the fold. Rather than attempting to heal the wounds left by the long and bitter schism, he took a tough-minded approach. In the Lateran Council of 1139 he delivered a harsh sermon, castigating the cardinals and other prelates, who had remained loyal to Anaclet, and summarily removing them from their offices.¹ Simultaneously, he launched a program of propagandistic art designed to promote his view of papal superiority both in *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.

A. THE BASILICA

Santa Maria in Trastevere was to be his showcase.² It was an inspired choice, because Calixtus, Anaclet and Innocent were all associated with this west bank basilica. Calixtus had named himself after its titular saint, and as we have seen, on December 17, 1120, he appointed Petrus Pierleoni as its cardinal priest.³ Showing his continued confidence in Petrus after the Concordat of Worms, in 1123 he confirmed Santa Maria's

¹ *Chronicon Mauriniacense*, Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, pp. 250–252. Panvinius, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 460: "Innocentius II, mortuo Antipapa Petro Petri Leonis et eius schismate sedato, anno Domini MCXXXIX media Quadregesima Laterani generale concilium episcoporum et abbatum plus minus mille congregavit, in quo moribus ecclesiasticis compositis omnia Antipapae acta et decreta rescindit."

² Boso, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 384: "Hic beatus pontifex ecclesiam beate Dei genitricis Marie tituli Calixti totam innovavit et construxit." A chronicle of popes inserted into the *Liber Politicus* says: "Innocentius papa II dominus meus. . . . ecclesiam sancte Marie trans Tiberim novis muris funditus restauravit et absidam ejus aureis metallis decoravit." *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 169; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*; in her discussion of the apse mosaic, Marie-Louise Thèrel also sketches in the background for the rebuilding of the church. *A l'origine du décor du portail occidental de Notre-Dame de Senlis: le triomphe de la Vierge-Église*. Sources historiques, littéraires et iconographiques (Paris, 1984); Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 3, pp. 65–71.

³ Hüls, *Kardindale*, pp. 189–190; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 196–199; Panciroli describes the priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere as being the first among the cardinal priests, and an expectant to be promoted to cardinal bishop. *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 587.

vast dependencies.⁴ For Gregory Papareschi these favors may not have been so welcome, since Trastevere was the heart of his own family's power, and he may have seen Petrus' presence there as a threat to its hegemony.⁵ After the schism it must have been sweet indeed to commemorate his victory in his adversary's own church. In one stroke he exorcized the demon of the competitor, who had overshadowed him most of his life, and trumpeted to the world that the church had again become the bride of Christ.

But Innocent also had other reasons for choosing Santa Maria in Trastevere for his commemorative church. Panvinus notes that it was located half way between the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, and that it was thus associated with the two founding apostles of the Roman church.⁶ Its design emphasized these connections, especially its use of the transept in imitation of the apostolic basilicas. Even more evocatively, the church was built at the site of the *fons olei*, the fountain where the Sibyl had foretold that when it gushed forth, the Savior would be born.⁷ Panvinus recounts the historiographical tradition of the *fons olei*, noting that in the time of Augustus Caesar it had been predicted that the fountain would begin flowing to announce the birth of Christ.⁸ St. Jerome emphasized its association with the grace of Christ.⁹

⁴ Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II* 2, nr. 408, pp. 210–212; The bull is no longer extant, but is known from a bull confirming the same dependencies issued by Benedict XII in 1340. *Benedicti XII Com. et De Cur. Anno VI*, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 128, Ep: CCCLXVIII fols. 218v–219r; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, p. 198 & n. 23 for all sources of the bull.

⁵ For Innocent's family see Giuseppe Marchetti-Longhi, *I Papareschi e i Romani*, vol. 6 of *Le Grandi Famiglie Romane* (Rome, 1947). Marchetti-Longhi (pp. 10–11) emphasizes the Papareschi's pride in being Roman, and contends that they regarded the Pierleoni as a family of second order because they were originally foreign; see also Carlo Cecchelli, "Di Alcune memorie benedettine in Roma," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano* 47 (1932), 1–76 at pp. 58–59, 68–72; Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, pp. 588–589. Panciroli emphasizes that [when Petrus was priest] Calixtus gave Santa Maria jurisdiction over a very large number of churches, and that he probably brought back the canons regular.

⁶ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 63; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, p. 308.

⁷ As revealed in the thirteenth century legend of Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Graesse, p. 43: "Romae etiam (ut attestatur Orosius et Innocentius papa tertius) fons aquae in liquorem olei versus est et erumpens usque in Tiberim profluxit et toto die illo largissime emanavit. Prophetaverat enim Sibylla, quod quando erumperet fons olei, nasceretur Saluator." The *Liber Floridus*, ed. Derolez, p. 280 also refers to the miracle of the oil which gushed for an entire day at the taberna meritoria: "per totum diem, per omne tempus romani imperii." Verdier, "La Naissance," p. 89 & n. 16 for other sources; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, n. 23, p. 345; Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 588.

⁸ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, pp. 64–65; Idem, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 426: "Tradunt ea ipsa Dominici Natalis nocte Transtiberim ex taberna quadam meritoria fontem olei fluxisse quo gratiam Christi gentibus quoque largiendam significabatur. Tunc etiam circulus ad speciem caelestis Arcus circa Solem apparuit."

⁹ PG 19:521: "E taberna meritoria trans Tiberim oleum de terra erupit fluxitque tota die sine intermissione significans Christi gratiam ex gentibus."

The exact site of the *fons olei* had since been lost, but reminiscent of the timely discovery of the most sacred relics at a lowpoint during the siege of Jerusalem in the First Crusade, the fountain was discovered during Innocent's reconstruction.¹⁰ The "miracle" identified Santa Maria anew with the birth of Christ, and accentuated Innocent's stature as his vicar. Could the *fons olei* have been Innocent's counterpart to Anaclet's association with the vision of Augustus, commemorated by the altar in Santa Maria in Capitolio?¹¹

Innocent died before the completion of his vast renovations, and mysteriously the basilica was not consecrated until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Again, the connection between Santa Maria and the *fons olei* was emphasized. When asked to consecrate the church, Innocent III reputedly responded, "it is proper that the place in which the Lord deigned to show the sign of the oil at the time of his birth be honored by everyone . . ."¹²

For Innocent's purposes the *fons olei* was additionally important, because it recalled a time of peace. Speaking in the ninth century about the prophesy in the time of Augustus, Paulus Diaconus said that after Caesar had been able to compose a true peace through the ordination of God, "Christ the Lord was born in Bethlehem, to whose advent that peace served."¹³ In rebuilding the basilica next to the *fons olei* Innocent was signifying that peace had returned to the church, and that the vicar of Christ was born anew.

Innocent treated the old structure of Santa Maria as though it were contaminated. In 1140 he had it razed to its foundations, claiming that such total destruction was necessary because of its state of imminent

¹⁰ Filippo Mallerini, *Memorie storiche della sacrosanta Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere*, MS. vol. in the Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria in Trastevere (1871), fol. 28v; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 221-222.

¹¹ Showing that the two legends were associated in people's minds, Panvinus transmits the legend of the *fons olei* immediately following the vision of Augustus. *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 426.

¹² Mallerini, *Memorie della sacrosancta Basilica*, fols. 91v-92r; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 336-339; see also the account in the mid-thirteenth century, Vat. Lat. 10999, fols. 143r-152v; I am indebted to Bernhard Schimmelpfennig for this reference. Kinney reviewed all of the theories purporting to explain the long hiatus between the completion of the construction of the church and the consecration, and then advances her own, pp. 336-343. I suspect that the real reason has yet to be discovered.

¹³ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 65: Quoting Paulus, "Igitur quum quadragesimo secundo anno imperii firmissimam verissimamque pacem dei ordinatione Caesar composuit, Christus dominus in Bethlehem natus est, cuius adventui pax ista famulata est."

collapse.¹⁴ If the church had been on the point of crumbling, however, it would have been surprising, for the Pierleoni family had the resources to keep it in a state of repair, and the church was wealthy in its own right. The dependencies, which Calixtus had confirmed to Petrus Pierleoni in 1123, included nine churches, and many properties, some from as far away as Porto.

Even more significantly both for the prestige and the wealth of the church, in the same bull Calixtus also confirmed a new station—the Feast of the Circumcision.¹⁵ The station not only enhanced the dignity of the church, but it also increased its revenues. The Feast of the Circumcision had been celebrated since the seventh century at Santa Maria ad Martyres, but Calixtus transferred it “for the greater dignity of your church and the reverence of the most blessed Callixtus Pope and Martyr, for whose holy body there is [in Santa Maria in Trastevere] a distinguished place . . . ” Surrounded by bishops, cardinals, deacons, the entire Roman clergy, all of the Lateran *Scholae*, and a great throng of Roman people, Calixtus himself celebrated the first station there with great pomp in 1123.¹⁶

Because the transference of a station deprived one church of prestige, pilgrims, and votive gifts, and then bestowed them on another, it was a rare phenomenon in the Roman church. For this reason Calixtus must have had a very special reason for making this radical move, and historians characteristically have speculated about his motive. For Hartmann Grisar it was the presence of a large Jewish population in Trastevere, to which the circumcision of Christ would be held up in reproach.¹⁷ Grisar argues that local associations often influenced the selection of a particular church for a station, and that the reason that

¹⁴ Innocent makes this claim in his inscription under the apse mosaic:

HEC IN HONORE TVO PREFVLGIDA MATER HONORIS
REGIA DIVINI RVITILAT FVLGORE DECORIS
IN QVA CRISTE SEDES MANET VILTRA SECVLA SEDES
DIGNA SVIS DEXTRIS EST QVA TEGIT AVREA VESTIS
CVM MOLES RVITVRA VETVS FORET HIC ORIVNDVS
INNOCENTVS HANC RENOVAVIT PAPA SECUNDVS

See n. 2 above and Carlo Cecchelli, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, ed. Carlo Galassi Paluzzi (Rome, 1934), pp. 35–36; Kinney, *St. Maria in Trastevere*, p. 326. Krautheimer notes that a strong earthquake was recorded in 1091. *Corpus Basilicarum* 3, p. 67.

¹⁵ Robert, *Bullaire*, pp. 210–211, #408; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 198–204.

¹⁶ *Necrologium ecclesiae S. Mariae trans Tiberim*, ed. Pietro Egidio, *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia di Roma*, 1: *Necrologi della città di Roma* (Rome, 1908), pp. 88–89; on p. 98 Egidio records Innocent's death in 1143 with the description, “qui eccl. S. Marie Transtyberim a fundamentis renovavit.” On pp. 100–101 Egidius notes Innocent III's consecration; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 200–201;

¹⁷ Grisar, “*Die Stationen*,” pp. 101–140 at pp. 105–106.

Calixtus selected Santa Maria in Trastevere was its presence in the largest Jewish quarter of Rome.

But he does not rely upon this association alone. He notes that on the Thursday after the second Sunday in Lent the parable of the richman and the beggar Lazarus was read under the heading of "Statio ad S. Mariam trans Tiberim" (Luke 16.19–31). In the conception of many ecclesiastical writers the richman represented the Jewish people, Grisar asserts, while Lazarus symbolized the repressed Christians. He notes that Gregory the Great developed this idea in his forty homilies, which were related to the day of the reading of the gospel in the Breviary. The parable narrates that while in hell the richman appealed to Abraham to warn his father and brothers so that the same thing would not happen to them, but Abraham responded that, "Habent Moysen et prophetas, audiant illos." The rich man replied that their words would not be enough, and that someone would have to go to them from the dead to convince them. Abraham then told the rich man that if they would not listen to Moses and the prophets, that they would not be convinced by anyone, even someone risen from the dead.

The interpretation of the parable is that Lazarus—Christendom—was taken into the bosom of Abraham, while the richman—the hard-necked, unbelieving Jews—was separated from heaven by the great chaos. Although Grisar does not mention the selection immediately preceding this parable (Luke 16.16–19), it appears to reinforce his theory. This text deals with the law, using *lex* as a symbol of the Jews in the same way that the term was used in the inscription in San Clemente. Here it says, "The law and the prophets were in force until John. From his time on, the good news of God's kingdom has been proclaimed, and people of every sort are forcing their way in. It is easier for the heavens and the earth to pass away than for a single stroke of a letter of the law to pass."

Dale Kinney disagrees with Grisar, pointing out that by this time most of the Jews had moved from Trastevere to the East bank of the Tiber. She does, however, see the Jewish theme as being pivotal, but in a positive sense. She conjectures that the transference of the Feast of the Circumcision could have been a delicate allusion to Petrus Pierleoni's Jewish heritage, but not a rebuke. Rather, she sees it as a reminder that Christ himself was a Jew, and that he had publicly proclaimed his origins on this day. Kinney believes that Calixtus may have been drawing an analogy between the origin of Christ and the Pierleoni. Obviously Christ's origins were beyond reproach, and by extension, so also were the Pierleoni's.¹⁸

¹⁸ Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 202–203; 311–312.

It is possible, of course, that Calixtus was making no allusion at all. The Feast of the Circumcision could simply have presented itself as the least difficult station to extricate from one church and transfer to another. However, if Calixtus did wish to impart some special meaning by choosing that particular station, then it is difficult to overlook the reading of the parable of Lazarus and the richman coupled with the preceding text concerning the law. Calling attention to Petrus Pierleoni's origins would have been no help to him, unless it would have removed any residual Jewish taint by subtly associating him with the standard allegorical interpretations of Jews in New Testament texts. If this were his intention, Calixtus would have been implying that the cardinal priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere looked upon the richman in the same way as all other Christians did.

But the innuendo would have been subtle enough not to impugn Calixtus' generally sympathetic attitude toward the Jews. A delegation of Jews had welcomed him upon his arrival in Rome, and after their suffering during the First Crusade he issued a bull, *Sicut Judeis*, to protect them.¹⁹ This bull was renewed by several popes during the twelfth century, but significantly not by Innocent. Like Calixtus, Anaclet presumably had good relations with the Jewish community in Rome during his reign.²⁰ The transference of the station, therefore, could have been designed to allay any fears that Christians might have had about Petrus' origins, while being oblique enough not to insult the Jews in Trastevere or elsewhere.

But whatever his intentions, Calixtus clearly wanted to enhance Petrus Pierleoni's dignity and to honor his church, and a slight to his heritage would have been inconsistent with the favors he lavished upon him. It could even be speculated that anticipating the end of his own reign, and aware of the divisive undercurrents in the curia, which would lead to the coup in the election of 1124, Calixtus wanted to put Petrus in an advantageous position as his possible successor. In any case, Petrus obviously never felt any affront, for otherwise he would not have designed the painting in the chapel of St. Nicholas to accentuate his linkage with Calixtus.

Apart from Calixtus' motivations in transferring the station of the Feast of the Circumcision, it stretches credulity to believe that the church

¹⁹ *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg 2, *Decretalia Gregorii IX*, Lib. V, tit. VI, c. IX, p. 774; Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews 1/1: Documents, 492-1404*, pp. 44, 51-52; Solomon Grayzel, "The Papal Bull *Sicut Judeis*," *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, ed. Meir Ben-Horin, Bernard D. Weinryb, Solomon Zeitlin, (Leiden, 1962), pp. 243-280. See ch. 9, n. 37.

²⁰ Vogelstein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* 1, pp. 219-221.

which possessed many churches and vast properties, and which had the prestige and revenues attendant upon being a station, would have been neglected to the point of collapsing by 1140. With his eye for pageantry, it is difficult to imagine that Calixtus would have celebrated the Feast of the Circumcision in a decaying basilica. Adding to this evidence is Anaclet's appointment of his close companion, Jonathan, as his successor in Santa Maria in 1130.²¹ An assignment to a dilapidated church would have been a strange reward indeed for a loyal ally.

Probably, then, Innocent was exaggerating in claiming that Santa Maria was in its death throes, but he may have wanted to draw a parallel with Pope Julius, who, according to Panvinus, had rebuilt the church "a fundamentis" after Constantine had brought peace to the Christians after their persecutions.²² He also had a multiplicity of other reasons for totally eradicating the old structure, and lavishing funds and materials on a larger, more magnificent building. Mainly, he wanted to celebrate a triumph over his adversary, just as Calixtus had celebrated in his series of frescoes depicting the imperial antipopes as footstools.

In an apparent analogy Innocent rebuilt Santa Maria in the likeness of old St. Peter's, erected by Constantine to commemorate his victory over Maxentius. For the interior, lavishly decorated with marble, he imported massive columns from the Baths of Caracalla.²³ Although Innocent's brother, the bishop of Sabina, had to complete the finishing touches, Innocent had the satisfaction before he died of knowing that Santa Maria in Trastevere would become the most splendid basilica dedicated to the Virgin in all of Rome.²⁴ What is significant in this architecture is that it

²¹ Hüls, *Kardinäle*, pp. 225–226.

²² Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 65.

²³ Dale Kinney states: "I am suggesting, therefore, that the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere were, in part, a deliberate demonstration of the imperial prerogatives of the basilica's papal founder, and that the demonstration was meant to impress the founder's status upon the viewer. This characterization would pertain to all of the spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, of course, not only those taken from the Baths of Caracalla. And the other spolia confirm it. Among contemporary Roman churches, the *ornatus* of Sta. Maria in Trastevere stands out both for the quality and the quantity. To cite only the most conspicuous example: the 104 marble modillions supporting the cornice of the nave entablature are actually pieces of seventeen smaller ancient cornices, cut up. The use of ornamented marbles in this position is gratuitous, and it is unparalleled in other trabeated churches of the period, where plain, simply molded corbels were used. A motive of ostentation seems undeniable, and the same motive is apparent elsewhere, in the rich ancient frames of the three eastern portals, in the elaborate imposts of the triumphal arch, the supports of the cathedra, and—before it was replaced in the nineteenth century—in the pavement. "*Spolia* from the Baths of Caracalla in Sta. Maria in Trastevere," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), 379–397 at p. 390.

²⁴ In the *Acta Consecrationis* of 1215 Innocent III testifies that Innocent paved Santa Maria with a marble floor so skillfully composed that it was hardly possible to find one like it elsewhere: "Igitur decimo anno sui Pontificatus eam basilicam ex toto dirui fecet . . . eam pulchri operis columnis capitellis, sumptuosisque fabricis decoravit et pavimento marmoreo

reflects the Roman and imperial motifs characteristic of Innocent's reign, rather than the ideals of austerity and simplicity cherished by St. Bernard and the other Northern Reformers.²⁵

If Innocent had wanted to use architectural symbolism to identify himself with the northern reformers, who saw the apostolic tradition as their ideal, he would have found local inspiration. Almost contemporaneously with his reconstruction of Santa Maria, the Cistercian monks he had transferred to Aquae Salviae, a few kilometers outside of Rome, were constructing Ss. Vincenzo ed Anastasio alle Tre Fontane. They designed and decorated their church according to the more severe models of the North, combined with the classical ideals of simplicity and restraint.²⁶ That he passed over this style and instead opted for an elaborately decorated Roman basilica is indicative that he identified the papacy with Roman rather than with Cistercian ideals.

B. THE APSE MOSAIC

As compared with San Clemente, the theme of the apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere does not identify itself immediately as paleochristian (plate 42).²⁷ The mosaic was very opulent, but compared with other art in Rome at this time, some historians judge it to be weak in design and proportion. Roman art was noted for its simplicity, naturalness and harmony of colors whereas the mosaic was almost Byzantine in its brilliance. The difference is so great that it has been speculated that the artist might have been foreign, perhaps Venetian.²⁸

tam affabre composito stravit ut vix ei simile reperiri alicubi possit. . . . Cumque ad tam pulchris operis consummationem sanctissimus Praesul omnino intenderet et Ecclesiam magnis muneribus ditare et honorifice consecrare decrevisset, quarto decimo fere Pontificatus sui anno feliciter migravit ad Dominum . . . Iste pro Ecclesia complenda sumptus necessarios cuidam fratri suo Sabinensi Episcopo reliquit, qui ad eum finem Ecclesiae fabricam prout videtur deduxit." Mallerini, *Memorie della sacrosancta Basilica*, fols. 28r–28v; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, n. 76, p. 216.

²⁵ Mâle mentions that like San Grisogono, Santa Maria also used the architrave, and thus took on the architecture of the Caesars. *Rome et ses vieilles églises*, p. 197.

²⁶ Kitzinger, "The Arts," p. 648; A. M. Romanini, "La storia architettonica dell'abbazia delle Tre Fontane a Roma. La fondazione cistercense," *Mélanges Anselme Dimier* 3 (1983), pp. 653–695; Hano Hahn, *Die frühe Kirchenbaukunst der Zisterzienser* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 171–173; Vincenzo Golzio and Giuseppe Zander, *Le Chiese di Roma dall'XI al XVI Secolo*, vol. 4 of *Roma Cristiana*, ed. Carlo Galassi Paluzzi (Bologna, 1963), pp. 57–68.

²⁷ Thérél, *A l'origine*, p. 197; Mâle also mentions that the subject was new, and that there was no prototype in the art of ancient Rome. Drawing attention to its originality, he notes that it will be a century and a half before the theme appears again in Santa Maria Maggiore in 1296. He speculates that Innocent saw the "Triumph of the Virgin", a window donated to Notre Dame by Suger, when he was in Paris in 1130, and that it was his model. *Rome et ses vieilles églises*, pp. 198–203, 206.

²⁸ Federico Hermanin, *L'Arte in Roma dal Secolo VIII al XIV*, Istituto di Studi Romani (Bologna, 1945), p. 262.

The mosaic and its inscriptions suggest that Innocent was using the basilica of Santa Maria as a symbol for the *Ecclesia Romana*, by this time identified with the pope.²⁹ For such a grandiose purpose, no renovations would have been adequate. The old building had to be totally destroyed and reconstituted to rid it of the pollution of the schism. The destruction of the basilica was the material expression of Innocent's nullification of all of Anaclet's appointments and consecrations in the Lateran Council of 1139. Out of the ashes of the old basilica the phoenix of the new church would rise, now unified under a leader worthy of Christ's embrace.

The mosaic at first looks askew, because the throne on which Christ and Mary sit as bride and groom is not central. The axis of the apse does not pass between the bridal couple, but directly through Christ. Thus, although the church is dedicated to the Virgin, in fact Christ is the focal point. Both wear the nimbus, and Christ's is embellished with a golden cross. He is simply dressed in a tunic and pallium, but the crowned Virgin wears an ornately embroidered garment, pearl earrings and precious stones. Christ embraces her with his right arm, and in his left he holds an open book which clearly states: "Veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum." Mary uses both hands to hold a scroll reading: "Leva eius sub capite meo et dextera [sic] illius amplexabitur me." This verse is taken directly from the Song of Solomon 2.6, and is stated similarly in 8.3. Christ's verse, however is only an adaptation from the Song of Solomon used in the liturgy of the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.³⁰

²⁹ Nilgen, "Maria Regina," p. 30 & n. 75; for the identification of the *Ecclesia Romana* with the pope in this period see Piotr Skubiszewski, "Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium dans l'art des X^e-XI^e s.: Idées et structures des images," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale: X^e-XII^e siècles* 28 (1985), 133-179 at p. 138. In a paper delivered at the American Historical Association meetings in Washington, D.C. on December 30, 1987 Dale Kinney questioned the whole idea of whether questions concerning image and propaganda value can be answered by the historian. Her answer was that although traditionally historians have constructed meanings from an imagined ideator's point of view, unconsciously assuming that ideator, audience, and interpreters are co-extensive, that this is a false assumption in the case of medieval public art. She further asserted that in the case of Santa Maria in Trastevere, she could find no plausible path from patronage to propaganda. Surely she is correct that there is no proof of who conceived the mosaic, what message he wanted to communicate and to whom, but most problems concerning iconography, motivation, and objectives in this period are conjectural. We know that Innocent used art for propagandistic purposes elsewhere—most notably the frescoes in the Lateran Palace to be discussed below—and that the propaganda potential of Santa Maria in Trastevere was very great. It is altogether reasonable to conjecture that he commissioned a churchman with a sophisticated knowledge of symbolism to design a church and a mosaic, which would communicate his message.

³⁰ Ibid., 26 & n. 62. Note the use of the "s" for the "x" in "amplexabitur", the same variation one sees in San Clemente and the Chapel of St. Nicholas. The absence of the "t" in "dextera" appears simply to be a mistake, but may reflect a northern European usage brought to Rome by one of Innocent's followers. In both cases it is surprising that the correct Roman form was not used for the mosaic intended to be the crown jewel in Innocent's building program.

On either side of the bridal couple stand saints associated with the church. The two exceptions are Peter, a saint, but not specifically involved with Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Innocent, the rebuilder of the church, but not a saint.³¹ Peter, with a light nimbus that may have been added later, stands next to Christ. He is turned at an angle toward the center, so that he almost forms part of a triology with Christ and the Virgin seated on the throne. The other figures, all without nimbi, but with the otherworldly stare of saints, appear to be on a par. At Peter's side are the popes Cornelius and Julius, and at the extremity, the priest, Calepodius. At Mary's side stand Calixtus I and the deacon, Lawrence, holding the astile cross. Innocent II, bearing a model of the church, is the outermost figure.

His appearance is very similar to the saints whom he accompanies. Notable in his clothing is the folded scarf about his neck, appearing here for the first time in papal depictions. Called the "fanon" in the thirteenth century, high medieval liturgy interpreted it as an emulation of the ephod, the superhumeral of the high priests of the Old Testament.³² But there was another prototype with which Innocent more probably wanted the viewers of the mosaic to identify his neck covering. This was the *lorum*, mentioned just after the crown and the *frigium* as imperial garb, which Constantine reputedly granted to Sylvester.³³ The *Graphia* mentions it in the same context as the *frigium*, which it says, came from the

³¹ Thérél believes that the absence of St. Paul heightens Peter's importance as the bishop of Rome and the head of the papacy. *A l'origine*, p. 197. She also notes that the figure of Innocent has been much restored, p. 76, n. 21. Panciroli states that when Innocent rebuilt the church he did not know where the bodies of Calixtus, Giulius, Cornelius and Calepodius were. Having diligently searched for them, and found them, he had them placed under the major altar with the remains of San Quirinus, a bishop whose body was found with Saint Cornelius, pope and martyr, in the cemetery of Saint Calixtus. Quirinus had been martyred under Maximian or Galerius, and after several moves, his body eventually was brought to Rome. The relics must have been considered to be important, for Innocent gave the head to Santa Maria in Campo Marzo. *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 590.

³² Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 2, p. 11; see *ibid.*, 9–11 for further descriptions of the mosaic; for the fanon see also Carlo Cecchelli, *La Vita di Roma nel Medio Evo* vol. 2 *Le Arti Minori e il costume*, pp. 952–954; Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg, 1907), pp. 56–57. Both authors mention that the mosaic of Innocent II is the first time they have observed the use of the fanon. See also Matthiae, *Mosaici* 1, pp. 305–314, and *ibid.* 2 for prints of the mosaic and the unnumbered sketch at the back of the book. Philippe Verdier analyzes it in his treatment of the theme of the coronation of the Virgin; *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* (Montreal, Paris, 1980), pp. 32, 40–47; Lawrence, "Maria Regina, p. 156; for seventeenth century reproductions see Cod. Barb. lat. 4404, *Mosaici et Pitture de la Basilica di Santa Maria in Trastevere copiate Fedelmente da Antonio Eclissi L'Anno 1640*; see also Eclissi, Cod. Barb. lat. 2011; De Rossi, *Mosaici*, fols. 140r–141v; Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 326–331; Panvinius, *Septem Ecclesias*, pp. 66–67.

³³ "... deinde diadema videlicet coronam capitis nostri simulque frigium nec non et superhumeralem, videlicet lorum, qui imperiale circumdare adsolet collum, verum etiam et claudidem purpuream atque tunicam coccineam et omnia imperialia indumenta . . . " Mirbt/Aland, *Quellen*, #14, p. 254.

Trojan kings from whom the Roman empire descended.³⁴ The papacy had stressed the other *imperialia indumenta* in its ceremonies, but had strangely neglected the lorum. As we shall see, Innocent constantly looked to the Donation of Constantine for symbols of his power. By wearing the lorum or fanon he subtly reminded his viewers of his imperial attributes.

From the sky above the figures in the mosaic the hand of God, bearing a green and golden victory wreath decorated with precious stones, reaches out over the head of Christ. The background is golden with colored clouds. Below the dedication is the frieze of lambs adopted from the model of the early church, and also used in San Clemente. Lambs representing the twelve apostles merge from Jerusalem on one side and Bethlehem on the other toward the haloed lamb of God in the center. At the top of the arch wall surrounding the apse is the apocalyptic vision of the cross with the letters Alpha and Omega. On the sides are the seven apocalyptic lanterns, and on each side of them the symbols of the evangelists. Below them on the right side the prophet, Jeremiah, holds a scroll reading "Christus Dominus captus est in peccatis nostris" (Lam. 4.20). In the same position on the left Isaiah holds a scroll reading, "Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet filium" (Isaiah 7.14). Between each prophet and the apse is a bird cage hanging from a cloud, and containing a bluish dove.

The theme of the enthronement of the Virgin became very popular in France after the middle of the twelfth century, and led by Émile Mâle, many scholars have speculated that Suger or St. Bernard inspired the mosaics in Santa Maria.³⁵ Since 1966 three scholars have ventured significant new interpretations. G. A. Wellen focuses on the bridal theme.³⁶ He points out that a pen sketch in a Southern German manuscript from the end of the twelfth century used to illustrate a commentary on the Song of Solomon by Honorius Augustodunensis is very similar to the apse mosaic.³⁷ In the drawing Christ sits on the throne with his right arm

³⁴ Ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, #44, p. 103: "De loro et frigio imperatoris. Habeat autem imperator lorum in collo et frigium in capite . . ." #43, p. 99: Septima [corona] est frigium ad imitationem regni Troiani, de quo Romanum imperium processit; nam frigium reges Troiani ferre soliti erant."

³⁵ Émile Mâle first suggested the French connection. *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 184–185; recently Marie-Louise Thérél has emphasized the great influence, which St. Bernard had on Innocent; *A l'origine du décor* (as in n. 2) and the review by Piotr Skubiszewski, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 30 (1978), 145–153; see also Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, p. 32.

³⁶ G. A. Wellen, "Sponsa Christi, Het Absismozaiek van de Santa Maria in Trastevere te Rome en het Hooglied," *Feestbundel F. van der Meer* (Amsterdam, Brussels, 1966), pp. 148–159.

³⁷ Munich, Bavaria Staatsbibliothek, clm 4550 fol. lv, previously from Benedictbeuren, and possibly executed in Salzburg in the twelfth century. Thérél also believes that evidence that

embracing a crowned female figure. His left hand is under the head of another female figure kneeling at a lower level outside of the royal city under a tree.

Accompanying the sketch is the same verse used in the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, and which is written on the scroll Mary holds in the apse mosaic: "laeva eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me." Honorius indicates that the figure on Christ's left is a symbol of the worldly church, and the one seated on the throne is the church triumphant raised by Christ to the heavenly Jerusalem. Both the miniature and the apse mosaic appear to Wellen to be representations of a prototype of an illustration of the Song of Solomon. Following out the analogy Wellen concludes that the enthroned figure in the apse mosaic is a symbol of the heavenly church, and that the basic theme of the whole mosaic is the expectation of the salvation of the church due to the incarnation. He does not speculate on any possible implications that the mosaic might have for the papal ideology underlying Innocent's program.

But in fact the basic theme may have had a second level. Honorius was not just a provincial monk working in isolation. He probably was Irish, and he traveled widely, including to Italy.³⁸ He was the first of the great twelfth-century theologians to conceive of Rome as the spiritual capital of *Christianitas* and the foyer of the *Universitas fidelium*. He envisaged a *regnum fidelium*, which not only would be theocentric and theocratic, but also monarchic and romano-centric. In his world-view the thought and the discipline would come from Rome, the head of the universal church, and the center of the world.³⁹ Christ was the king, and his vicar, the bishop of Rome, ruled in his stead.⁴⁰ The pope was the father of the faithful, and the church identified with Mary as its mother, who preserved the purity of the faith from heresy.⁴¹

Mary represents the church can be extrapolated from the illustration of Honorius' commentary. *A l'origine*, pp. 77–79, 136–144.

³⁸ Marie-Odile Garrigues, "Honorius Augustodunensis et l'Italie," *Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 84 (1952), 511–530.

³⁹ *Gemma Anima*, lib. 1, PL 172:601–602: "Hic enim universalis nuncupatur, quia universae Ecclesiae principatur, quia principis apostolorum vice fungitur. . . . Papae autem officium est missas et divina officia ordinare, canones pro tempore ad utilitatem Ecclesiae immutare, Augustum consecrare et pallia archiepiscopis, privilegia episcopis vel aliis religiosis dare, totam Ecclesiam ut Christus gubernare. Itaque papa in vice Christi Ecclesiam regit . . ." *De imagine Mundi* lib. 1, PL 172:129: "Antiqui civitates secundum praecipuas feras, ob significatione formabant. Unde Roma formam leonis habet, qui caeteris bestiis quasi rex praeest."

⁴⁰ *Liber Duodecim Quaestionum*, PL 172:1182: "Hinc est, quod Roma caput mundi Petro apostolo, non Michaeli archangelo primatum regiminis obtulit; et universa Ecclesia per orbem non solum in privatis locis, sed etiam in praecipuis urbibus episcopalem sedem Petro contulit."

⁴¹ *Sigillum Beatae Mariae ubi exponuntur cantica canticorum*, PL 172:499: "Gloriosa virgo Maria typum Ecclesiae gerit, quae virgo et mater existit, etiam mater praedicatur, quia

The attention he paid to the papacy and the first place he accorded to Rome led Honorius to support the papal and Roman position without reservation. His vision of Rome and the papacy greatly influenced the general conception, and his effect on the iconography symbolizing that conception was extraordinary. Innocent shared his views, and his emphasis on Mary as the keeper of the purity of the faith was a particularly attractive model after the schism. It is quite probable, therefore, that a prototype or variant of the drawing illustrating Honorius' text influenced the mosaic.

In her outstanding dissertation on Santa Maria in Trastevere, written in 1975, Dale Kinney advanced a bold interpretation of the significance of the church and all of its decorations. Although she now believes that the traditional means of proving propagandistic content are naive and problematic, at that time she saw Innocent as the emulator of both Christ and Constantine.⁴² Emphasizing the "regia" theme of the apse inscription, Kinney particularly related the mosaic to Innocent's imperial pretensions. She suggested that perhaps Innocent adopted this pose to counter Roger II of Sicily. Unlike Wellen, she noted the specifically Roman character of the mosaic, calling attention to the fact that the saints represent all of the ranks in the Roman church under the leadership of Peter. She observed that Innocent placed the papal throne directly under the image of the enthroned Christ, and envisioned that surrounded by his bishops during a stational mass, he would have appeared like the image above his head. While Christ was the lord of the eternal church, she concluded that the configuration implied that Innocent acted in his stead on earth. Even though she did not rely on the illumination of Honorius Augustodunensis' commentary on the Song of Solomon, her conclusion is consistent with his thought.

Ursula Nilgen thinks that any interpretation must take into account Wellen's and Kinney's theses, but she believes that neither goes far enough.⁴³ She notes that Mary had never previously been depicted enthroned without the Christ child, and that the staging of Christ and Mary as a bridal couple on the same throne was completely without precedent in Rome. Asking what grounds Innocent must have had for choosing such an unconventional composition, she concludes that Mary's symbol as the church is key. For contemporaries who knew the tradition

Spiritu sancto fecondata, per eam quotidie filii Deo in baptismo generantur. Virgo autem dicitur, quia integritatem fidei servans inviolabiliter, ab haeretica pravitate non corrumpitur.

⁴² Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, pp. 325–334; she has since retreated from this position in the paper she read at the 1987 Meetings of the American Historical association. See n. 29 above; Nilgen, "Maria Regina," pp. 27–28.

⁴³ Nilgen, "Maria Regina," pp. 28–30.

of the Song of Solomon, the picture of Christ and Mary as bridegroom and bride had to elicit the association of Christ and the church, she holds. Like Kinney she believes that the accompanying bishops, priest and deacon intensify the ecclesiological aspect of the mosaic, and give it a specifically Roman theme. "It is the clergy of the *Ecclesia Romana* in all of its ranks under the leadership of Peter, which here accompany the unification of Christ and his church."

But if Innocent were only interested in the ecclesiological aspects of Mary, he could have chosen a less unconventional image, Nilgen argues. She concludes that the clue to Innocent's intentions is found in the second part of the the apse inscription:

In which [royal palace], O Christ, your seat remains forever
Worthy of his right hand is she whom the golden robe envelops.

Mary here symbolizes the church in a double sense as the basilica and as the *Ecclesia Romana*, Nilgen reasons. By declaring that Mary is worthy of Christ's embrace, the opposite possibility is also raised—that she as the church might be unworthy. What Innocent is implying, Nilgen believes, is that Santa Maria in Trastevere was unworthy of Christ's embrace under Petrus Pierleoni, and likewise that the *Ecclesia Romana* was unworthy under Anaclet. When the church in both senses was about to collapse, Innocent rebuilt it, and made it worthy again unto eternity. The theme of the apse mosaic, then, is Christ's renewed possession of the church through his vicar, Innocent, after the pollution of the schism.

Her conclusion is buttressed by the use of the *Maria Regina* motif in the Exultet Rolls prevalent in Southern Italy at the end of the eleventh century. An example of the rare *Maria Regina* icon without the Christ child is found in the frescoes of the crypt of the abbey of Saint Vincent Vulturno in the area of Benevento. It probably was the model for the *Ecclesia* in the Exultet Roll of Vat. Lat. 9820.⁴⁴ The *Maria Regina* rendition of the Virgin as queen was the most appropriate of all of the iconographical types to personify the church for Innocent because it expressed the idea of sovereignty. In choosing the motif for Santa Maria in Trastevere he may have been following in the footsteps of Gregory VII, who had already adopted the *Mater Ecclesia* as one of his favorite expressions. To him she symbolized the unification of all Christians without distinction. She transcended all divisions, and extended herself to Christians in the East as well as in the West. She was free and sovereign, and most significantly

⁴⁴ Ibid., 22–23; Skubiszewski, "Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium," p. 172 & n. 280; pp. 169–179 for an analysis of the Exultet Rolls.

for both Gregory and Innocent, above both *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium*. Her sovereignty was exercised by the Roman church.⁴⁵

In her study of the triumph of the Virgin-Church in the west portal of Notre-Dame of Senlis in 1984, Marie-Louise Thérél worked out her own interpretation of the apse mosaic in Santa Maria in Trastevere without benefit of the foregoing studies. Relying upon Honorius Augustodunensis she identifies Mary as *Ecclesia*, and believes that the enthroned Virgin reveals the influence of St. Bernard.⁴⁶ She further emphasizes the evolution of the concept of *Ecclesia*, which by the time of Innocent meant the organized and structured body of the church as a corporation. At this same time, she notes, the first pontifical and conciliar texts defined the primacy of the Roman church founded by the leader of the apostles. The Roman church was accordingly the head of the *Ecclesia universalis*.⁴⁷

Thérél's thesis adds little to the view already advanced by Mâle, and the interesting work of Penny Schine Gold deals with different issues.⁴⁸ All of the studies contribute to the understanding of the iconography, but the close connection between the caged doves and the Marian symbolism appears to support Nilgen's interpretation.⁴⁹ In the paleochristian period caged birds may have been partly decorative and partly metaphors for the soul imprisoned in the body. But in the first part of the twelfth century the caged bird became a symbol for Christ, who allowed himself to be imprisoned in the incarnation of the flesh to redeem mankind.

Bird cages were used in similar ways in other Marian churches in Rome, such as Santa Maria Nuova. The symbolism of the bird cage in its apse mosaic and the accompanying verse of the prophets is connected to the Feast of the Purification and the Presentation of Christ (February 2nd). Luke 2.24 describes how Joseph and Mary presented Jesus in the temple of Jerusalem and at the same time, according to the law of the Old Testament, sacrificed a pair of doves. According to the purification laws in Leviticus 12.8 one of these doves functioned as a burnt offering for the birth of a son, and the other as a sin offering. In the context of the Feast

⁴⁵ Skubiszewski, op. cit., p. 178.

⁴⁶ Thérél, *A l'origine*, pp. 76–77; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in Cantica Cantorum*, PL 172:374–495 at p. 494: "Et ideo omnia quae de Ecclesia dicta sunt possunt etiam de ipsa Virgine sponsa et matre sponsi intelligi." Among the many sources dealing with the parallel between the Virgin and *Ecclesia*, see H. Barré, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée médiéval," *La Vie Spirituelle* 91 pt. 2 (1954), 124–141; Idem, "Marie et l'Église du Vénérable Bède à saint Albert le Grand," *Bulletin de la Société française d'études mariales* (1951), 59–125; Yves Congar, *Le Christ, Marie et l'Église* (Bruges, 1952); Alois Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria. Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1951).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 117.

⁴⁸ Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago, 1987).

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the caged doves see Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 2, pp. 15–16.

of the Purification the meaning was that Christ sacrificed himself for mankind in the incarnation as well as in the redemption. The symbolism of the caged dove may relate not only to the incarnation and redemption, but also to the purification.

Purification and redemption—the freeing of the church from its imprisonment under Anaclet, and its cleansing from the desecration of the schism—are both suggested by the dove motif. The symbolism reinforces the message of the apse mosaic itself, where Innocent significantly stands on the side of Mary, representing the church now again worthy of Christ's embrace. This is the more honorific side of the mosaic. It is the right side of Christ, which refers to the heavenly church according to the inscription and symbolism of the miniature of Honorius Augustodunensis. It is Mary as the Queen of Heaven, who is "digna tuis dexteris." She is the one "quam tegit aurea vestis." And Mary's scroll again speaks of the right: "Et Dex[t]era illius Amplesabitur me." Innocent, standing on Christ's right, and holding the model of the church, which Mary also symbolizes, is worthy of Christ's embrace. It is to Innocent in a secondary sense that Christ says, "Come, my elect, and I will place you on my throne."

Peter, on Christ's left, represents the earthly church as Christ's vicar.⁵⁰ He is tangentially included in the center group, but is set apart in space, and by the fact that he is standing rather than sitting on the throne. Although Christ does not place his left hand under Peter's head (*Leva eius sub capite meo*) as he does with the figure in the sketch from Honorius Augustodunensis' commentary on the Song of Solomon, Peter's position is nevertheless the counterpart of the figure in the illustration. In both cases they are lesser figures than the crowned church, who shares

⁵⁰ In the commentaries on this text the left generally seems to refer to the earth, and the right to the spiritual. Perhaps the imagery is adopted from the Last Judgment, where those on Christ's right will go to heaven, and those on the left to hell. An interesting text written by Gregory of Catino, a monk and chronicler of the imperial abbey of Farfa in the Sabina, either just before February 1111 (Giorgi) or in the summer thereafter (Heinemann, in edition, MGH LdL 2:534–542), compares the church to a body, of which the king is the head, and the priesthood is the heart; in this case the left is the *regnum*, and the right, *sacerdotium*. It is improbable that Innocent had this interpretation in mind, because he would not have wished to acknowledge secular authority over the church: "Habet etiam sancta eadem ecclesia singula membra propriis officiis deputata, habet levam, habet dexteram. Ipsa enim dicit in canticis canticorum. Leva eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me; et per levam regnum, per dexteram uero intelligitur sacerdotium; Leva enim sponsi, idest Christi, sub capite ecclesie [sic] dicitur quia prelati secularibus tuetur temporaliter et sustentatur. Dextera autem eius amplexabitur, quia sacerdotali institutione ipsum novit auctorem quo uitam eternam merebitur habere, sicut patri ipse dicit: Haec est uita eterna, ut cognoscat te unum et uerum dominum et quem misisti Ihesum Christum. Noticia ergo Dei per sacerdotum institutionem ostenta fidelibus largitur uita aeterna." Ignazio Giorgi, "Il Regesto di Farfa e le altre opere di Gregorio di Catino," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 2 (1879), 409–473. Appendice III, *La Orthodoxa Defensio Imperialis*.

Christ's throne, and is embraced by his right arm. By placing himself on the other side of Christ Innocent almost seems to be implying that he is the vicar of Christ rather than the vicar of Peter.

On casual observance there seems to be nothing unusual about Innocent's depiction of himself. There are numerous mosaics and frescoes in Roman churches portraying papal donors standing at the side holding a model of the church they are presenting. There is one notable difference, however; Innocent is portrayed as a saint rather than as a still-living, humble donor. It will be the last time in medieval iconography that a pope will be depicted on the same level as the saints standing in heavenly glory.⁵¹ In the apse mosaic Innocent is the same size as the saints, stands on the same level, has the same stylized unearthly expression, and is not differentiated from them by wearing the square halo. By omitting halos for all but Christ and Mary, and possibly Peter, Innocent takes on the aura of saintliness of those around him.

To illustrate how unusual this depiction is, let us compare it with portrayals of other donors Innocent could have observed in Roman churches.⁵² In Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Paschal I is a small figure and wears the square halo, and in San Prassede he also wears the square halo. Although not a donor in Santa Maria in Domnica, Paschal I again wears the square halo, and as a small figure he kneels at the feet of the Virgin. In San Lorenzo fuori le Mura the donor, Pelagius, is a small figure and wears no halo. The saints surrounding Christ are larger figures wearing the halo. In the apse mosaic of the chapel of San Venanzio in the Lateran baptistry, Pope Theodorus, holding the model of the church, conspicuously does not wear the halo, while the saints do. In the oratory of John VII in the grotto of St. Peter's, John, holding the model of the church, wears a square halo.⁵³ And in San Marco the donor pope, Gregory IV in the square halo contrasts with all of the other figures in round halos.

⁵¹ Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 2, p. 11.

⁵² See Waetzold, *Die Kopien*; Matthiae, *Mosaici Medioevali*; Wilpert and Schumacker, *Die Römischen Mosaiken*, for these and other examples. In speaking of mosaics depicting saints in ninth century Roman churches Pierre Jounel mentions that sometimes the founder was represented as a personage of small size kneeling at the feet of Christ or his mother. He asserts that the attitude of humility assured the rectitude of the Christian prayer. *Le Culte des Saints dans les Basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au Douzieme Siecle*, pp. 119-120.

⁵³ See the original drawings of Grimaldi, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Petro, *Album* A 64 ter, fol. 18 (19). In this drawing Mary is a large figure, and John as the donor is small, with a square halo. Fol. 35 (31) shows another perspective of the same painting. Fol. 37 (32) is much more detailed. Mary, crowned and with a halo, is wearing a very ornate dress. John, tonsured, and without any head dress, carries a model of the church. He appears to be beardless. On fol. 38 John again wears the square halo. See also Grimaldi, Vat. Lat. 2733, fol. 93r, fig. 41; inscription, "... Sepultus ante altare oratorii quod ipse construxit in basilica Sancti Petri"; on fols. 90v-91r there is a series of drawings from the chapel. The huge one in the center shows Mary ornately dressed, haloed, crowned and standing. A much smaller John with square halo stands below.

Thus, Innocent's depiction of himself as undistinguished from the saints in the apse mosaic is an aberration from tradition, and appears to be a conscious attempt to enhance his own dignity.

His implicit elevation of himself to sainthood is understandable. He had just emerged from a bruising battle with Anaclet over the leadership of the church when reconstruction on Santa Maria began in 1140, and he needed a dramatic symbol to proclaim to the Christian world that the papacy not only had returned to its former stature, but had transcended it. The use of mosaics as a medium and the choice of the saints depicted reveal that this papacy was quintessentially Roman. Untouched by the ideals of Bernardine restraint, Santa Maria was transformed into a royal hall supported by imperial pillars, and decorated with golden mosaics.

Chapter 13

INNOCENT II: THE IMPERIAL POPE

A. IMPERIAL SYMBOLISM

In a letter written in 1130 soon after the outbreak of the papal schism, Cardinal Bishop Peter of Porto testified that prior to their elections both Anaclet and Innocent had lived wise and honest lives.¹ After his election, however, perhaps bolstered by Haimeric, and in an effort to demonstrate that he was the true pope, Innocent metamorphosed from a modest legate into a regal monarch. Even exceeding the princely Calixtus, he utilized pageantry and ceremony to impress spectators with the majesty of his office. He never missed an occasion to celebrate the *dies coronae*, and each major event became an opportunity to stage a colorful pageant.²

He received a royal reception from Peter the Venerable at Cluny when he first fled into exile, and while regrouping his forces, he consecrated the abbey's huge new basilica.³ When he arrived at the Council of Liège in 1131 to be acclaimed as pope, he impressed the Northerners with Roman pomp. At the celebration of the Lord's supper, he distributed gifts, which Suger, the cosmopolitan abbot of St. Denis, described as sumptuous in the Roman tradition. In fact, Suger was so impressed with the whole scene that he delineated it in minute detail: the royal way glistening with precious fabrics hung from trees along which the procession moved; the white horses covered with white blankets ridden by Innocent and members of his court; barons and vassals acting as grooms (*stratori*); the coins thrown to the crowd to keep it from crowding in too closely; and

¹ William of Malmesbury inserted Peter's letter into his *Historia Novella*. *The Historia Novella*, tr., intro. & notes K. R. Potter, (London, Edinburgh, Paris, Melbourne, Toronto, New York, 1955), p. 7.

² Between Christmas Day 1130 and Easter 1131 Innocent wore the papal crown on three occasions. The third, March 29, 1131, at Liège, was laetare Sunday between Christmas and Easter. Ingo Herklotz, "Der Campus Lateranensis im Mittelalter," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1985), 1–43 at p. 10 & n. 37; Hans Walter Klewitz, "Die Krönung des Papstes," *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 61, KA 30 (1941), 96–130 at p. 102; for sources MGH SS 4:4; See also Petrus Mallius, *De Festivitatibus in quibus Dominus Papa debet coronari*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 433–434.

³ Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastic History of Orderic Vitalis* 6, pp. 418–420: "... Cluniacenses, ut eius aduentum cognouerunt, lx equos seu mulos cum omni apparatu congruo papae et cardinalibus clericis detinuauerunt, et usque ad suam basilicam fauorabiliter conduxerunt."

Innocent's use of the *frigium*, an *ornamentum imperiale*, as Suger stressed.⁴

Following the overwhelming impression Innocent made at Liège, he traveled on to St. Denis to celebrate Easter. He arrived at the basilica wearing a golden crown embellished with silver, precious gems and glowing pearls. After mass he and his entourage indulged in a great feast, and the following day the whole party departed on a tour of French churches to replenish the papal coffers.⁵

Apart from the symbols and ceremony of power, the essence of ruling authority is juridical power. To augment this authority Innocent greatly encouraged the use of papal courts during his reign. By trying to draw all *causae maiores* before the curia he increasingly centralized the church around the papacy.⁶ For this task he needed additional jurists, and of the six, who were active during his reign, four were his appointments.⁷ But St. Bernard, who looked back to the simple days of St. Peter, saw the vastly increased tempo of judicial activity as an abuse. In *De Consideratione* he complained that day and night the curia sounded with the cries of advocates, and that justice was becoming ever more remote.⁸ Even worse, Bernard emphasized, the curia not only heard ecclesiastical cases, but also secular. Justinian's law fills the papal palace, he lamented, and while there is constant wrangling, there is little justice.⁹

The protocol of Innocent's court resembled that of a Byzantine king. The aged abbot Hariulf of the Abbey of Oudenburg in Holland has transmitted a first hand account of his visit to Rome to plead a case in front of the papal curia. He describes his conversation with Haimeric, after which the chancellor led him to Innocent, who was sitting in a consistory in the Lateran palace, surrounded by cardinals and noble Romans dressed in ceremonial clothing. Having been previously instructed by Haimeric, the abbot approached Innocent and performed the

⁴ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 262–264: "Summo mane vero extrinseca via ad ecclesiam Martirum in Strata, cum multo collateralium collegio quasi secreto commeavit; ibique more romano seipsos preparantes, muto et mirabili ornatu circumdantes, capiti ejus frigium, ornatum imperiale, instar galee circulo aureo circumdatum imponunt, albo et palliato equo insidentem educunt, ipsi etiam palliati equos albis operturis variatos equitantes, odas personando festive geminati procedunt."

⁵ Ibid., 264: "Parveniens vero ad sanctorum basilicam, coronis aureis rutilantem, argenti et plus cencies auri preciosarum gemmarum et margaritarum splendore fulguantem divina missa celebrans . . . Exinde Galliarum ecclesias visitando et de earum copia inopia sue defectum supplendo . . ." Gerhoh of Reichersberg was critical of covering the clerical crown with a golden one. MGH LdL 3:303: "nam coronam ex auro fabrefactam corone clericali superponi passus non est."

⁶ Maleczek, "Das Kardinalskollegium (1130–1143)," p. 59.

⁷ Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums*, p. 212.

⁸ *De Consideratione, Opera Sancti Bernardi*, ed. Leclercq & Rochais 3, pp. 408–410, 435–439.

⁹ Ibid., 397–402.

Romano-Byzantine act of proskynesis—kissing the feet of the pope seated on a raised tribunal. Hariulf reports that Innocent then bade him rise and gave him the kiss of peace.¹⁰

The imperial protocol observed in formal judicial sessions was not incidental, but central to Innocent's reign. Like Calixtus, he also permitted himself to be addressed with imperial titles. In Panegyrics he was called "Caesar and ruler of the whole world" and as "true emperor". In 1137 Cardinal Gerard of Santa Croce, the future Lucius II, said to Innocent, "ecclesia te in caesarem totiusque orbis dominatorem et elegit et consecravit."¹¹

Innocent encouraged this perception of himself, which is reflected in the laudes recorded in the *Liber Politicus*.¹² After Innocent's return from exile Guido of Castello, cardinal priest of San Marco, and one of the pope's closest advisors, requested that Benedictus write a book describing the daily offices and the ceremonies in which the pope and his curia participated. The canon of St. Peter's complied, writing a new recension of the *Ordo Romanus*, which became the first part of the *Liber Politicus*. He dedicated his book to Guido, who succeeded Innocent as Celestine II. Since from the ninth century there had been scant knowledge of papal ceremonies, the *Liber Politicus* was a notable monument. As the first description of the staging of Roman ecclesiastical performances after the Investiture Contest, it reveals the transformation of the pope's position from Roman bishop to papal monarch.¹³ It is not simply by chance that it

¹⁰ *Chronicon Aldenburgense Majus, Appendix ad Hariulfum*, PL 174:1544–1554; Ernst Müller, "Der Bericht des Abtes Hariulf von Oudenburg über seine Prozessverhandlungen an der römische Kurie im Jahre 1141," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930), 97–115; Maleczek, "Das Kardinalskollegium (1130–1143)," pp. 66–67; Deér, *Dynastic Porphyry Tombs*, pp. 148–149.

¹¹ Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste* 4, n. 26, pp. 183–184; Krautheimer, *Rome*, p. 151. The imperial attribution was not unique to Innocent. The *Descriptio lateranensis ecclesiae* refers to the pope as *imperialis episcopus*. *Codice Topografico* 3, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, p. 345. Canonists of the twelfth century also attempted to give a juridical justification to the concept of *Papa versus imperator*. Alfons Stickler, "Imperator vicarius Papae. Die Lehren der französisch-deutschen Dekretistenschule des 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhunderts über die Beziehungen zwischen Papst und Kaiser," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954), 165–212 at pp. 191–192; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 92.

¹² *Liber Politicus, Lib. Cens.* 2, pp. 141–177, esp. *De laudibus Cornomannie* and *laudes puerorum*, pp. 171–173; see the introductory notes by Duchesne, *Lib. Cens.* 1, pp. 105–116, for a description of the *Ordines Romani* and other parts of the *Liber Politicus*; Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, pp. 126–130; S. J. P. van Dijk, J. H. Walker, *The Origins of Modern Roman Liturgy* (London, 1960), pp. 77, 105, 126; Michele Maccarrone, "Die Cathedra Sancti Petri im Hochmittelalter. Vom Symbol des päpstliche Amtes zum Kultobject," (II) *Römisches Quartelschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1981), 137–172 at p. 139; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1973), esp. pp. 6–15.

¹³ E.g. the *mappula*, which becomes the baldachino, is mentioned for the first time. *Liber Politicus, Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 145: "Prior episcopus servit de libro, archidiaconus de evangelio,

was written between 1140–1143 after Innocent had occupied his see in Rome.

In addition to the laudes raised during the mass and after the stational services there were semi-official acclamations. Among them were those shouted out by the school boys of Rome in the midst of *Quadragesima* around the middle of Lent. Standing in front of the Lateran palace they called out their "Victoria" wishes to the pope, who was listening within the palace. In mock pleading they beseeched him to open the doors: "Open the doors to us, we have come to lord pope Innocent; we wish to greet him and to raise praises to him in the manner that is fitting to Caesar. Lord, open the window." Responding to their entreaties, the pope came to a window on the facade of the palace, and the boys joyously responded, "You see who comes. Comes the sun! Comes the moon! Comes the clouds of the heaven with manna. We come to our most holy lord pope I(nnocent) with palms. May God give him life! May Christ give him life!" After an interlude of Greek laudes, they began to raise praises again in Latin: "Bravo blessed pope Innocent, who governs all in place of St. Peter."¹⁴

The glorification of the pope designated as Innocent in these verses far surpasses the laudes raised in the mass and upon the return from stational services. The metaphors designating Innocent as the sun, the moon, and the clouds of heaven bearing manna go well beyond the sun and moon symbols used by Gregory VII to characterize the pope and the emperor. They go back to the ancient Roman empire, and for them to emerge at Innocent's court shows an intensive effort to retrieve the imagery of the distant past to enhance his imperial image. The prototype of the royal and imperial was expressly witnessed in the feast of the Cornomannie: "We wish to salute him, to salute and to honor and to raise praises to him, in the same way as it was done to the Caesars."¹⁵

subdiaconus regionarius prior de mappula. . . . In introitu ecclesie cubicularii alte portant mappulam super caput pontificis." (from *De officio in Vigilia Natalis Domini* at Santa Maria Maggiore) Innocent had the baldachino decorated with paintings of saints, which allegorically related it to the Bible. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatsymbolik* 3 vols., 3 (Stuttgart, 1956), p. 716.

¹⁴ *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 173. Benedict's text differs slightly; the translation I have given is based upon Duchesne's transcription in the introduction (pp. 111–113) of *Liber Censuum* 1. Duchesne believes that the laudes were no longer chanted at the time of Benedict, and that one should not assume that because Innocent's name was used that the laudes were being raised to him (p. 109). I, nevertheless, believe that it is significant that contemporaries were reading the laudes as though they were being raised for Innocent, and that he would be seen as the recipient of the praises. For a discussion of the laudes and their significance for the time in which Benedict recorded them, see Herklotz, "Der Campus Lateranensis," pp. 13–14; Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, pp. 129 and n. 53, 143 & n. 101.

¹⁵ *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 172: "salutare illum volumus, salutare et honorare et laudes illi levare, quomodo qui ad Caesares." Other laudes identified with Innocent in this series designated as "Cornomannie" by Benedict are: "Octobria dominus noster papa Innocentius Sanctis-

In his struggle both to consolidate his authority over the church and to combat the forces that wanted to remove the governance of Rome from the papacy and to restore it to the Senate, Innocent exploited the imperial symbolism of the statuary in the campus before the Lateran palace. He held sessions of his court in the portico of the palace near the famous Etruscan bronze statue of Romulus and Remus suckling from the she-wolf. The she-wolf was the symbol of Rome and its past grandeur, and the statue was one of two appropriated by the papacy as symbols of its succession to imperial power.

The second was the statue of Marcus Aurelius seated on his horse, the front leg of which was poised over the dwarf-like creature of a defeated enemy. This statue was saved from destruction by the early Christians because the rider was thought to have been the Christian emperor, Constantine. The *Mirabilia*, however, associates it with an ancient myth. In this legend Marco, a young hero from the Republican period, captured an oriental king who was besieging Rome. In gratitude the Romans erected a bronze statue in commemoration of his victory.¹⁶

Two possible interpretations of the account in the *Mirabilia* come to mind. The first is that it was an anti-papal gesture, perhaps instigated by those who revived the Roman Senate in 1143. In this case the intention would have been to weaken the association of the Pope with Constantine

simus cum gloria! Magister, victoria!" *ibid.*; and later adding to this same laud: "Octo octobria dominus noster papa Innocentius sanctissimus cum gloria. Magister, victoria. Pueri de ista patria. Arma Romanorum tu, Domine, adjuva. Dominus meus es tu, domne apostolice. Caballus tuus semper portet coronam, clericus tuus qui te illum donet, qui te in antistitem et sancta catholica . . . ' *ibid.*, 173; Kantorowicz briefly discusses the Cornomannic laudes, and notes that even though Duchesne says that in twelfth century Rome the imperial laudes were considered as an imitation of the papal laudes, that in fact the papal laudes derived from those offered to the emperor in the past. *Laudes Regiae*, p. 143 & n. 101. The laudes of the Cornomannia originated from a ceremony occurring on the afternoon of the Saturday "in Albis". Priests of the eighteen deaconries rang the bells for everyone to return to their parishes. Clerics and people from each deaconry, guided by a *mansionario* dressed in a shirt, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and carrying a finobolo (musical instrument), made a procession to the Lateran.

¹⁶ For the Marcus Aurelius statue *Mirabilia*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 32–33; Herklotz, "Campus Lateranensis", pp. 24–29 for a detailed discussion of all sources; Magister Gregorius, an English monk, who probably wrote between 1227–1249, speaks of seeing the bronze wolf statue in the portico. *Narratio de mirabilibus urbis romae*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Textus minores 42) (Leiden, 1970), chs. 31, 32; see also the English edition with introduction and commentary by John Osborn, Master Gregorius, *The Marvels of Rome* (Toronto, 1987), p. 36; *ibid.*, pp. 19–21 for the Marcus Aurelius statue and the various myths about its identity; Paul Borchardt, "The Sculpture in Front of the Lateran as described by Benjamin of Tudela and Magister Gregorius," *Journal of Roman Studies* 26 (1936), 68–70; Herklotz, "Campus Lateranensis," pp. 17–21 for a discussion of the wolf statue and further sources. An older, still basic study is Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio. Studien und Texte zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedanken vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 17) 2 vols., 2 (Berlin, 1929), pp. 47–48.

and his alleged Donation.¹⁷ The second is that it was conceived to identify the papacy with victory, and that it coincided with other triumphal themes of the reform popes.¹⁸ The first interpretation is the more probable, because Constantine was also associated with triumph, and there was no necessity to create a new hero. Since, however, the *Mirabilia* appeared only in the year of Innocent's death, the identity of the statue with Constantine was still in the public mind, and had it encompassed any anti-papal connotations, he would have removed it.

Innocent fittingly completed his *imitatio imperii* with his death in September, 1143. As a sign of his identification with Constantine, he selected the Lateran basilica rather than St. Peter's for his burial.¹⁹ The sources say little about the burials of his predecessors from the reign of Urban II, but they become profuse with his. Four writers in the twelfth century record that he requisitioned the porphyry sarcophagus of the emperor, Hadrian, from the Castel San Angelo, and had it placed in the *campus* before the Lateran palace in front of the *fallonia*.²⁰ The *fallonia* was a covered walk located close to the facade of the palace, and it was the point where the statonal processions ended.²¹ In this conspicuous spot Innocent had his sarcophagus displayed while he was still living as a symbol of his imperial authority. He was the first of the popes known to have used porphyry for his sarcophagus, and if the fragment preserved in the cloisters of the Lateran today is from his tomb, the scenes sculpted thereon were ones of triumph.²² His message was clear. He, rather than

¹⁷ In the middle of the twelfth century scepticism over the Donation of Constantine was beginning to become manifest. These doubts appear to be reflected in the *Mirabilia*, which may have been composed by someone in the circle of those, who were attempting to revive the Senate. Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," p. 83.

¹⁸ As mentioned by Ingo Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, pp. 125–126.

¹⁹ Anastasius IV, who died in 1154, clearly imitated Innocent. Immediately following the description of the burial of Innocent, the *Graphia* relates that Anastasius had the sarcophagus of the empress, Helen, (mother of Constantine) brought to the Lateran for his burial. *Codice Topografico* 3, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, p. 86; Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 100 & n. 75. Most of the popes, who died in the twelfth century were buried in the Lateran. The Cistercian pope, Eugenius III, was an exception, and his decision to be buried in St. Peter's indicates that he wanted to be identified with St. Peter. Because of the unrest in Rome the handlers of Paschal and Honorius had no choice, but both Calixtus and Innocent could have selected St. Peter's.

²⁰ *Mirabilia*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 46–47; *Graphia*, *ibid.*, 86; *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 348; *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, *ibid.*, 431; *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 385; Herklotz, "Campus Lateranensis," p. 3; *Idem*, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, pp. 97, 124.

²¹ See for example, *Liber Politicus*, *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 153, #48: "... ascendens ad palatium juxta Fulloniam, in introitu basilice Zacharie papae, et acceptis laudibus a cardinalibus et iudicibus, sicut in aliis coronis, descendit de equo . . ."

²² Panvinius describes the fragments. *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 434: "Prope portae arcas ante Basilicam, ejusdem ornamento, duo praegrandes marmorei Leones et insignis conca prophytica fracta, quae Innocentij sepulchrum fuit, extant." Herklotz, *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 118. Herklotz compares Innocent's sarcophagus with that of Anastasius IV, which was covered with scenes of triumph.

the present day emperor or the Roman Senate, wore the mantle of the ancient emperors.

The precursors of Calixtus II had usually been buried in the Lateran basilica not out of choice, but because St. Peter's was in the hands of their opponents. Among them were popes from the time of Paschal II, with the exception of Gelasius II, who died at Cluny. Their graves were located in the south transept. Innocent chose a prominent location in the nave apart from the graves of the other popes for his entombment.²³ Eschewing this visible spot, Celestine II would revert to the south transept to be buried close to his other predecessors.²⁴ This area was near the chapel of San Pancratius and Mary, the mother of God. Innocent had moved the relics of Saints Chrisantius and Daria there from an altar, which had been "execrated" by the schismatics. He then consecrated the altar containing the precious relics in their new resting place. Canons made a procession there and held a vigil, and pilgrims coming to view the relics of the saints would at the same time be reminded of Innocent.²⁵ In 1308 a fire in the basilica destroyed his sepulchre, and his remains were then appropriately interred in Santa Maria in Trastevere.²⁶

²³ Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, pp. 319–373, at p. 348: "Onde est altare sanctorum XL Martirum. Prope hoc altare in navi ecclesiae iacet Innocentius papa II in conc[h]a porfiretica, quae fuit [H]adriani imperatoris sepultura."

Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 440: "In eadem parte per directum versus Oratorium Sancti Thomae iacuerunt corpora Paschalis II, Callixti II, Honorij II et Celestini II. Post sequebantur Altare XL Martyrum prope quod fuit Sepulchrum Innocentii Papae II in pulcherrimo labro porphiretico antiquo, quod incendio Ecclesiae dirutum adhuc fractum extat ante fores Basilicae quae septentrionem versae sunt." Maffeo Vegio, a member of the curia under Urban V and Gregory IX, mistakenly placed Innocent's grave in St. Peter's. Writing in 1455 he says: "in medio rotundi giri [of Castel San Angelo] erat sepulchrum dicti [H]adriani porfiriticum, in quo eius ossa posita erant maximo ornatu. Quem Innocentius secundus papa levavit hinc inde et voluit sepeliri: quod sepulchrum a dicto Innocentio positum fuit in paradiso Sancti Petri sub Salvatore musaico et navi Apostolorum." The editors note (n. 2) that it was only the cover of the sarcophagus. *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, op. cit., 4, pp. 375–398 at p. 135. Popes were buried in the Lateran from the first half of the tenth to the first of the eleventh centuries, and from Paschal II, almost uninterruptedly until Lucius II (1145). Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum* 5, pp. 68–69.

²⁴ Ibid., 347–348: "Pascalis papa II, qui salubri providentia et studio renovavit ordinem canonicum in ista ecclesia. Iuxta quem iacet Calixtus papa II, qui reformavit cum imperatore Henrico pacem. Secus ipsum requiescit Honorius papa II, ac deinde penes istum Caelestinus papa II . . ." Ingo Herklotz notes that little was said about the burial of the popes in the south transept but that "Gregorio Papareschi rappresentò forse il caso più sensazionale nella storia delle sepolture papali dell'intero Medioevo. Già nel sec. XII quattro autori raccontano che il papa fu sepolto in quel sarcofago di porfido che era già servito come tomba dell'imperatore Adriano." *Sepulcra e Monumenta*, p. 97 & n. 67.

²⁵ Jounel, *Le Culte des Saints dans les Basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au Douzième Siècle*, pp. 347–348.

²⁶ For his second interment, see Duchesne's note, *Lib. Pont.* 2, n. 2, p. 385. The inscription reads in part: "Hic requiescunt venerabilia ossa sanctissime memorie Domini Innocentii Papae II de domo Paparescorum . . ."

In choosing the Lateran for his burial Innocent knew that he was participating in the competition between the Lateran and St. Peter's for recognition as the chief basilica in Christendom.²⁷ The Lateran, as the Donation of Constantine stated, was the church of Constantine, the head of all churches throughout the earth. Johannes Diaconus, its apologist in the twelfth century, dedicated himself to maintaining this claim of superiority in the face of the rivalry of St. Peter's. His aim in writing the third redaction of the *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae* was openly competitive and propagandistic, and he saw the basilica's imperial connections as one of its chief strengths. It is the patriarchal and imperial see, and the head of the world, he proclaimed.²⁸ Later, he again emphasized the royal, imperial, and patriarchal character of the pope on certain Sundays and festivals.²⁹

Throughout his reign Innocent bestowed precious gifts upon the Lateran basilica, and repaired major parts of it. Johannes Diaconus reports that when the roof collapsed, Innocent restored it at his own expense with new beams donated by Roger, king of Sicily. Johannes emphasizes the opulence of the furnishings and ornaments, which Innocent lavished on the interior. He notes that Innocent also rebuilt the bell tower outside of the church, which had fallen into ruins.³⁰ Just as in St. Peter's, the pope took care to see that the canons were well provided.³¹

²⁷ For a brief description of this competition see Richard Krautheimer, *St. Peter's and Medieval Rome* (Rome, 1985).

²⁸ Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Lateranensis*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 336.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 345.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 348: "Hic renovavit tectum huius basilicae propriis expensis, novis trabibus, quas gloriosus et potens Rogerius, Siciliae rex, praecipuis suis eidem ecclesiae transmisit; quod videlicet tectum suo tempore cecidit, suoque tempore restauratum est. Turrim etiam ante ecclesiam, quae ruinae vicina videbatur, renovari iussit; atque quam plurima, dum vixit, ecclesiae dona ad ornamentum altari optulit: cicladem videlicet auro textam satis optiman, de qua postea vestis ad ornatum altaris, et casula ad celebrationem missae factae sunt; sarantasmum ad cooperimentum altaris; turibulum argenteum pens. libr. .II.; calicem argenteum deauratum pens. libr. .II.;" Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 432: "Innocentius vero II, qui Canonicus Regularis in Monasterio Lateranensi fuerat, Pontifex anno MCXXX renunciatus suis sumptibus tectum Basilicae Lateranensis ruinae proximum refecit, novis travibus repositis, quas Rex Siciliae Rogerius Pontificis rogatu eidem Ecclesiae de Calabria transmittens donaverat. Turrim quoque Campanarum iussit, et quamplurima dono eidem Basilicae obtulit." p. 444: "Innocentius II, qui tectum Basilicae refecerat, multa dona obtulit huic Basilicae ad Altaris ornamentum, inter quae praecipua fuere: Ciclas auro intextas optimo ex quo pallium ad Altaris ornatum et Planeta ad missae celebrationem facta sunt. Tarantasmum ad cooperiendum Altare maius. Thuribulum argenteum librarum XI." The pope, whom Panvinus lists as making donations to the Lateran before Innocent, was Sergius III (904-911). Thus, it seems that Innocent revived a long neglected tradition. Panciroli says that Innocent "vi fece il tetto et il soffitto, con pitture et oro." *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 137. In addition to the Lateran basilica and palace, and Santa Maria in Trastevere, Innocent also repaired San Paulo fuori le mura and San Stefano Rotondo. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 384.

³¹ Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 441: Innocentium quoque Papam II donasse inveni Basilicae Lateranensi centum Lucensis monetae libras, quibus agri emerentur ad Canonicorum in ea residentium substantationem;"

B. THE CORONATION FRESCOS

While Innocent used the basilica for services and as a meeting place for councils, the campus for staging stational ceremonies, and the *porticus* for judicial procedures, he used the palace for holding consistories of cardinals and for other larger meetings. After he had established himself in Rome in 1138, he totally rebuilt two rooms contiguous to the chapel of St. Nicholas, and painted one of them with a series of scenes from Lothar's coronation in 1133 (plate 43).³² These scenes are mainly known to us through a rough pen sketch drawn in the sixteenth century by someone working with Alfonso Chacon (Ciaconius), and found by Gerhart Ladner in 1935.³³ There is a much later drawing by Rasponi, but most scholars join Ladner in agreeing that this depiction is little more than the artist's fanciful recreation of the original paintings.³⁴ An inscription accompanying the frescoes had been removed by the time Panvinus saw the paintings, but Rahewin, Frederick Barbarossa's biographer, transmitted it in the mid-twelfth century. The inscription reads:

Rex venit ante fores iurans prius Urbis honores
Post homo fit papae sumit quo dante coronam.³⁵

³² *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 384 & n. 5. See Giacomo Grimaldi's magnificent drawing of the Lateran basilica and palace with a key to the locations; Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 304r–305r, & 307v. After describing the chapel of St. Nicholas and the rooms of Calixtus II, Grimaldi says: "In cubiculis duobus memoratis erat coronatio Lotharii secundi." Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, pp. 463, 478–479: "In basilica postremo Lateranensis duo imperatores coronati sunt: Hlotarius II ab Innocentio II Papa anno Domini MCXXXIV, cum basilica S. Petri in qua imperatores coronari mos erat a Petro Petri Leonis antipapa schismaticis occupata valida praesidio teneretur, cuius coronationis pictura extat in patriarchio Lateranensis. . . . Totum porro ipsum Patriarchium idem Pontifex [Innocent] renovavit." Idem, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 177: "Innocentius II. Papa in penitiori parte Lateranensis patriarchij duo alia cubicula a fundamentis fecit, retro aediculam S. Nicolai, ea parte quae frontem basilicae Lateranensis respicit (Haec adhuc semirupta supersunt) qua varijs picturis ornavit: in quorum uno coronationem Lotharij II. Imperatoris ab se in basilica Lateranensi consecrati pinxit." Schramm/Mütherich, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, pp. 124–126 & tav. 198a.

³³ Barb. lat. 2738, fols. 104v–105r. Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," pp. 265–266, 280–292 attributed the drawing to Panvinus, but Ingo Herklotz argues convincingly that the author was Chacon. "Historia Sacra und Mittelalterliche Kunst," n. 26, pp. 34–35.

³⁴ C. Rasponi, *De basilica et patriarchio lateranensi libri quattuor* (Rome, 1656), pp. 296–297; Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 290; in 1970 Ladner again analyzed the paintings and the scholarship on them since his original discovery; *Papstbildnisse* 2, pp. 17–21; Michele Maccarroni, by contrast, is convinced that Rasponi's drawing represents a fourth scene; "L'incoronazione imperiale del Barbarossa a Roma nel 1155," *Studi Romani* 6 (1958), p. 33. Jörg Traeger (*Der Reitende Paps*t) says that an "A" a "d" and a "4" can be seen in writing under the verse in the original Rasponi drawing, and that these letters indicate that the pope in the painting was Adrian IV. Since the inscription clearly goes with the coronation frescoes of Lothar, however, the probability is still that the painting is an inaccurate rendition of Innocent and Lothar. See the discussion in A. Frugoni, "A Pictura cepit," *Bulletino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e archivio muratoriano* 78 (1967), pp. 123–135 at pp. 123–125.

³⁵ Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris* III, 10, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, ed. Georg Waitz & Bernard von Simson, 3rd ed. (Hanover, & Leipzig, 1912), p. 177; In

The king comes before the gates, first swearing to uphold the rights of the city.

Afterwards he becomes the man of the pope; he accepts the crown, which the pope gives.

In the first scene Lothar is swearing an oath before the open door of a church. We know it to be the Lateran where the coronation occurred.³⁶ The king, bare-headed, is surrounded by laymen and some bishops. His right hand rests on a Bible, and his left is raised. Dressed in an ornate cape, the prefect of the city is administering the oath. Other noble Romans gather around him. From other sources we know that the prefect was Cencius Frangipani. What we do not know is what oath Lothar was swearing. Imperial sources preserve an oath stating that Lothar promised to defend Innocent and his successors, to defend the *Regalia* of St. Peter, which the papacy possessed, and what it did not, to help to recover. However, although in one context Panvinus preserves this oath, in describing the paintings he mentions only an oath to preserve the customs of the Romans.³⁷ Such an oath would be more consistent with the inscription ("iurans prius Urbis honores").

In the second scene, accompanied by his entourage, Innocent is seated on the papal throne wearing a tiara with one band signifying kingship from the hand of God. Behind him stand two bishops—almost certainly cardinals—and a cleric. Lothar, still bare-headed, stands slightly bent toward the pope. The action which is taking place is not clear. Panvinus says simply that Innocent is receiving and embracing the king.³⁸ Ladner suggests that it could be the granting of the kiss of peace, or that part of the *commendatio* in which the emperor places his folded hands within those of the pope. Although the artist does not draw the hands in this position, the *Chronica Regia* of Cologne describes the coronation scene of the painting as portraying Lothar, hands folded, standing before the

Panvinus' transcription of the inscription "stetit" replaces "venit". *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 479; Idem, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 177.

³⁶ For a description of the events surrounding Lothar's coronation see Bernhardt, *Lothar*, pp. 473–484; on p. 483 & n. 59 he discusses the painting.

³⁷ MGH Const. I:168: [June 4, 1133] "domino Cencio Fraiapane . . . et Octone nepote suo ac ceteris nobilibus Romanis ibi existentibus: Ego Lotharius rex promitto et iuro tibi domino pape Innocentio tuisque successoribus securitatem vite et membri et male captionis, et defendere papatum et honorem tuum, et regalia sancti Petri que habes manutenere, et que non habes iuxta meum posse recuperare." Panvinus includes this oath in the account he wrote of the Frangipani. *Onofri Panvini Veronensis de Gente Fregepania libri quattuor*, Cod. Barb. Lat. 2481, fol. 74v. However in his *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 479, and *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 177 he mentions only an oath to the Romans: "In cuius tabulae prima parte pictus est Rex qui ante portas basilicae Lateranensis iurat R[om]anis se conservaturum consuetudines suas;"

³⁸ Panvinus, *Septem Ecclesias*, p. 177: post a papa suscipitur amplectiturque deinde coronatur." Idem, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, p. 479.

pope seated on his throne. It states that the pope is in the process of crowning him emperor.³⁹ As described by the *Chronica Regia* the scene could portray the fulfillment of the oath, composed by Gregory VII in 1081, which required the elect to swear "per manus" that he would become a vassal of St. Peter.⁴⁰

If the description in the *Chronica Regia* is accurate, the painting and the inscription would mesh perfectly. The second scene would portray Lothar in the process of becoming the vassal (*homo*) of the pope. But there are problems with this account. It seems not to have been first hand, and to have conflated the second and third scenes. Moreover, more than half a century had elapsed since Gregory had written his oath, and it had never been sworn in a coronation ceremony. Dependent upon Lothar, Innocent was not in a position to force him to swear a feudal oath. And even if the scene had depicted the act of *commendatio*, the ceremony would not necessarily have been feudal, since *commendatio* was also part of other secular and religious ceremonies. Frederick Barbarossa, so jealous of his status, and so particularly wary of any insinuation that he was a papal vassal, did not hesitate to place his hands within Pope Adrian IV's while swearing the oath of security during his coronation ceremony.⁴¹

If the second scene depicts Lothar's receiving the kiss of peace, conforming to the proceedings of February, 1111, or perhaps to *ordo C*, then it is inaccurate. In both of these cases the kiss is given outside of the basilica, whereas the scene in the sketches is set within the basilica.⁴² In neither *ordo B* nor *C* is there any ceremony within the basilica before the coronation which the second scene could depict. Either the ceremony represented in the second scene of Innocent's frescoes was improvised, or the sketch was not intended to be an exact depiction.

³⁹ *Chronica regia coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH *Scriptores rerum germanicarum*, XVIII (Hannover, 1880), p. 93: "Nam papa quondam Innocentius Romae in muro pingi fecerat se quasi in throno pontificali sedentem, imperatorem vero Lotharium complicatis manibus coram se inclinatam coronam imperii suscipientem." See Ladner, "I mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 285, n. 2, and Walter, "Papal political imagery," p. 169, n. 50. While noting that Maccarrone and Frugone believe that the painting represents the investiture of the Mathildine lands with the ring, Traeger agrees with Ladner that it depicts the act of *commendatio*; *Der Reitende Papst*, p. 45 & n. 21.

⁴⁰ Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII.* 2, p. 576.

⁴¹ Boso's life of Adrian IV, *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 392: "et ad ecclesiam beate Marie in Turri in qua eum ante altare pontifex expectabat ascendens, genua sua fixit coram eo et manus suas inter ipsius pontificis manus imponens, consuetam professionem et plenariam securitatem, secundum quod in Ordine continetur, publice exhibuit sibi." Ladner, "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 286.

⁴² *Relatio Paschalis*, MGH *Legum Sectio IV*, p. 147: "Ad cuius vestigia cum rex corruiisset, post pedum oscula ad oris oscula elevatus est." Elze, *Ordines*, #6, p. 37; *ibid.*, #7, "et ille osculatur pectus domini pape." Likewise Frederick I's act where he placed his hands within those of the pope took place before entering St. Peter's.

Accordingly, the second scene does not appear to portray a feudal ritual. It is likewise improbable that Lothar swore a feudal oath or an oath of fidelity such as that prescribed in *ordo* C. His oath to the pope was similar to the one sworn by Henry V in February 1111, and it did not contain the possibly feudal term, "*fidelitas*".⁴³ In fact, it resembled the oath in *ordo* B after which it most likely was patterned.⁴⁴ What distinguished it from both *ordines* B and C, and from coronation ceremonies of the past was that it was not sworn directly to the pope, but, according to the frescoes, was administered by two laymen. Indeed, the scene may have conflated the oath sworn to the pope with the one sworn to the Romans.

The third scene confirms the suspicion that the frescoes were not entirely accurate portrayals of the coronation ceremony. In this scene Innocent is performing the coronation itself during the course of a mass. The king stands before him, brilliantly dressed in the coronation cape. Innocent stands on a platform slightly above Lothar, and behind an altar. He is in the process of placing the crown on Lothar's head. The previously crowned queen stands by her husband's side. Her appearance is a clue that something was wrong with the whole tableau, for the queen had never been crowned before the emperor, and no *ordo* prescribed that she should be. Shifting the coronation from St. Peter's to the Lateran would not have dictated such a change.

If this scene did not conform to the actual ceremony, how much can we read into the second? How much weight, for example, can we attach to Innocent's wearing of the tiara, which according to *ordo* C would not have been donned until after the performance of the *officium stratoris*, and entry into the procession to the Lateran following the coronation? The tiara served to accentuate his height, which even in the second scene where he is sitting, is above that of Lothar. The depiction of Innocent in his ruling headdress within the basilica accentuated his imperial attributes, and complemented the inscription. Rather than trying to portray the coronation ceremonies accurately, the frescoes appear to have been designed to convey Innocent's conception of the relationship between

⁴³ For Henry's oath see MGH Leges, Sectio IV, p. 140; for Lothar's see n. 37 above and *Lib. Cens.* 1, p. 414. For a discussion of the oath of fidelity in *ordo* C, see ns. 27–33, ch. 6. Eichmann argues that *fidelitas* and *securitas* conveyed the same concept, so that Lothar's oath could be interpreted as having essentially the same content as the oath of fidelity in *ordo* C. The wording of Lothar's oath, however, does not lend itself to a possible feudal interpretation. Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 2, p. 174; see also *ibid.*, p. 181 and p. 188 where Eichmann states that not every "Treueid" was a feudal oath.

⁴⁴ Elze, *Ordines*, p. 23: "In nomine Christi promitto spondeo atque polliceor ego N. imperator coram Deo et beato Petro, me protectorem atque defensorem esse huius sancte romane ecclesie in omnibus utilitatibus, in quantum divino fultus fuero adiutorio, secundum scire meum ac posse."

pope and emperor. The fresco and inscription proclaimed that as the successor of Constantine, Innocent transmitted the imperial crown to the German king as his vassal.

The claim was not lost on Frederick Barbarossa, who demanded that this graphic propaganda be expunged. As we shall see, while Frederick's demand was only partially honored, the seed Innocent planted grew into a burgeoning plant by the end of the century. By themselves the legacy of the frescoes might have been ephemeral, but in conjunction with other imagery, their effect endured.

Chapter 14

THE AFTERMATH OF THE LATERAN FRESCOES AND ST. PETER'S

Because Lothar had been dead since December 1137, he could neither contest nor confirm Innocent's reconstruction of the coronation. Conrad III, who came to power through Innocent's intervention, was never crowned emperor, and may have been unaware of the paintings. He had wanted to make an expedition to Italy, but instead had spent most of his reign entangled in civil wars in Germany, and bogged down in a disastrous crusade. Thus, the first emperor in a position to challenge the paintings was Frederick Barbarossa. A man of much tougher mettle, Frederick fought back when the popes tried to insinuate their authority over him.

A. *OFFICIUM STRATORIS*

The first notable test occurred during Frederick's expedition to Italy in 1155.¹ As he approached Rome for his coronation, he encountered papal envoys at Sutri, a few kilometers outside of the city. They demanded that he perform the "officium stratoris" for the pope.² According to the

¹ Boso recounts the incident in his life of Adrian IV. *Lib. Pont.* 2, pp. 391–392. Boso may also have written the more detailed account taken from Adrian IV's Register, reproduced in *Lib. Cens.* 1, p. 414: "Ubi [tent of Frederick where Adrian had been conducted by archbishops and princes in Frederick's entourage] quia rex in stratoris officio exhibendo et tenendo treuga illum honorem domno pape nequaquam exhibuit qui ab antecessoribus ejus Romanorum regibus ob apostolorum principis reverentiam Romanis consueverat pontificibus exhiberi, ceperunt qui cum domno papa venerant contristari et de subtracta ei consueta reverentia murmurare. Quocirca dominus papa eum ad osculum non recepit. Unde remanente ibidem exercitu, totus sequens dies sub istius rei disceptatione decurrit, asserentibus cardinalibus domnum imperatorem de antique consuetudine ac Romane ecclesie dignitate domno pape stapedem debuisse tenere, quibusdam autem de principibus exercitus denegantibus. Propter quod quidam cardinales discesserunt. Tandem vero antiquioribus principum et illis qui cum imperatore Lotario ad domnum papam Innocentium venerant requisitis, et investigata ex relatione illorum et veteribus monumentis prisca consuetudine, judicio imperialis curie decretum est et communi principum favore firmatum quod donnus (sic) imperator pro apostolorum principis et sedis apostolice reverentia exhiberet stratoris officium et strequam domno pape teneret." Michele Maccarrone, *Papato e Impero dalla elezione di Federico I alla morte di Adriano IV (1152–1159)* (Rome, 1959), pp. 117–122; Herklotz, "Der Fassadenportikus," p. 82.

² Eduard Eichmann, "Das Officium Stratoris et Strepae," *Historische Zeitschrift* 142 (1930), 16–40; Eichmann disagrees with the position of Robert Holtzmann, who explores the issue of whether or not there was a difference between the service of a *strator* and of a *maraschalcus*; Holtzmann says that there was, and Eichmann that there was not. Robert Holtzmann, *Der Kaiser als Marschall des Papstes; Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der*

Donation of Constantine, Constantine had performed this ritual for Sylvester as a sign of respect for the papacy. In its most simple form the emperor meets the pope a few yards before he is to dismount, and carries the reins of his horse until he reaches his destination. Later it also became customary for the emperor to hold the stirrup to steady the pope's dismount. Pippin first performed the ceremony for Stephen II in 754, and more than a century later in 858 Louis II performed it for Nicholas I. From the reign of Otto I no mention is made of it until Conrad, consecrated to be the successor of Henry IV, performed it for Urban II in 1095. It was dropped again until—significantly—Lothar performed it for Innocent at Liège in 1131, *humillime stratorem se offerens*.³ Eventually it became part of the coronation ceremony, but experts differ on when. I incline toward a date after 1155, for if it were already routine by that year, Frederick would not have made such an issue over it. His reluctance to perform it is further evidence that *ordo C* was not in force, and, indeed, that it had never been used.

By 1155 the “*officium stratoris*”—and especially if it included “*strepae*” (the holding of the stirrup)—had feudal overtones. This was particularly true in England, where a vassal acting as a marshal performed this service for his lord. Given these possible feudal implications Frederick's original refusal is understandable. Only after Adrian's entourage threatened to withdraw obedience did he agree to reconsider his decision. He met with his elder princes and those who had been present with Lothar at Liège, and after hearing their opinions, and after reviewing the ancient documents, he agreed to perform not only the *officium stratoris*, but also *strepae*.

To insist that the ceremony was customary was stretching the point, since it had only been performed twice in more than half a century. Had Lothar enacted it during his coronation ceremonies Frederick would have questioned those who had been present there. Instead, he sought the advice of those, who had observed the ceremonies in Liège (*illis qui cum imperatore Lotario ad domnum papam Innocentium venerant*). When he finally acceded to the pope's demand, he very carefully circumscribed the implications of his concession. He maintained that he was acting out of

Beziehungen zwischen Kaiser und Papst in Mittelalter (Heidelberg, 1928,); by the same author, “Zum Strator-und Marschalldienst,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 145 (1932), 301–50; see also Walter, “Papal Political Imagery,” pp. 166–167 & n. 44.

³ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, pp. 260–262; Traeger, *Der Reitende Papst*, p. 42. Traeger notes that Pippin acted as a *patricius* in performing the ceremony, and that according to Byzantine custom the *patricius* performs this function for the basileus. The *patricius* becomes important again in the twelfth century, and the origin and prerogatives of the office are disputed. The exact relationship between the emperor and the *patricius* may have intensified Frederick's reluctance. For a discussion of the *patricius* see ns. 34–48, ch. 5.

reverentia, the expression used in the Donation of Constantine, where a feudal act was never in question. Gerhoh of Reichersberg would use similar words to contrast Constantine's performance of the *officium stratoris* with that of a vassal for his lord.⁴

Although Lothar was not serving as Innocent's man in Liège, nevertheless hints of feudal overtones were intensified by a ceremony occurring on March 29, Laetare Sunday. At least from the eleventh century, on that day the ceremony of the golden rose was enacted, and Innocent, in exile, knew that Anaclet in Rome would be participating in it. In the ceremony the pope carried a fragrant, golden rose in procession to the church of Santa Croce, where he held a stational service. In the homily he emphasized the allegorical significance of the golden rose. After the ceremony, crowned, and accompanied by his spiritual and lay entourage, the pope returned in procession to the Lateran palace. At some spot along the way the city prefect awaited him, and taking his reins, led him the rest of the way and helped him to dismount. The pope then gave the prefect the rose, and the prefect thanked him by kissing his foot.⁵ Since the prefect was a papal vassal, and Lothar would have been playing his part in Liège, the people watching the ceremony could have inferred that Lothar also was functioning as a vassal. But characteristic of Innocent, the staging was only suggestive; there was no golden rose; there was no Santa Croce, and there was no stational liturgy.⁶

The symbolism perfectly suited Innocent's needs, for to claim expressly that he was Lothar's lord would have been counterproductive, since he was in exile and needed the king to install him in his see. Nevertheless he could build upon this precedent when the opportunity arose, which it did after the deaths of Lothar and Anaclet. The inscription in the Lateran palace, and to a lesser degree the paintings, were a much bolder attempt to claim as fact that which had been adumbrated at Liège. Departing from

⁴ See ns. 8, 9 below.

⁵ Benedictus Canonicus admits this ceremony to the papal liturgy in the *Liber Politicus*, *Lib. Cens.* 2, p. 150: "Dominica *Letare Iherusalem*, stacio ad Iherusalem in palatio Susurrano, ubi dominus pontifex honorifice cantat missam, habens in manu sua rosam de auro cum musco. Post evangelium ascendit pulpitem et predicat de flore et rubore rose et odore, ostendens eam populo. Deinde tractat de evangelio. Factis laudibus et finita missa, ibi accipit coronam et coronatus cum processione, sicut mos est, redit ad palatium. Longe ante descensum pontificis descendit prefectus et pedester adextrat eum usque ad locum ubi pontifex descensurus est. Ibi dat ei rosam et prefectus osculatur pedes ejus. Acceptis laudibus et celebrata corona sicut mos est, omnes redeunt ad propria." Herklotz, "Campus Lateranensis," p. 15 for a description of the ceremony and ns. 68–72 for sources; Bernhardt, *Lothar*, p. 357 & n. 16 for sources for the coronation procession at Liège; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung* 2, pp. 290–292.

⁶ Klewitz, "Die Krönung des Papstes," pp. 102 & n. 15, 123–125 & n. 86; Klewitz notes the absence of any mention of a rose in the sources in spite of the fact that Innocent was celebrating the Laetare procession.

the earlier tradition of portraying emperors positively, the frescoes continue the tendentious precedent set by Calixtus.⁷

Gerhoh of Reichersberg, was critical of these moves. The outspoken canon regular had been conversant with papal politics for many years, and had taken an active role on issues about which he felt strongly. Partially in return for support of his own contentious views on secular and religious clergy, he passionately supported Innocent in the papal schism of 1130–1138. Writing in 1162 and again in 1167, Gerhoh referred to a “new picture”, which portrayed the Roman emperor as a marshal. He chided the pope for exacting the office of *marescalcus* under the name of the *officium stratoris*, and he said that it was not at all surprising that kings and emperors were indignant. To demand this service smacked of superbia, Gerhoh charged. “Dum enim Romani [popes] occasione talis obsequii reges vel imperatores homines suos in cameris sive in publico pingunt locuntur et scribunt, quid hoc spirat nisi superbiam aut quem fructum inde consecuntur nisi iram principum, indignationem et calumniam?” For either popes take away the imperial crown with the name and subject emperors to their authority and obligate them to homage, or they honor them with the imperial crown and the name. But if they so honor them, how, he asks, can they *versa vice* dishonor them with the portrayal and name of homage?⁸

In 1167 Gerhoh again criticized the pope's demand that the emperor function as his marshal. He acknowledged that Constantine had performed this service out of veneration for the church, but he maintained that the emperor did not do it out of any demand. Moreover, Gerhoh emphasized, Sylvester had never stated, written or painted the emperor as his marshal. He said that in ancient letters written by popes to emperors the pontiffs had humbly referred to the emperors as “lords” or “dearest sons”, and to themselves as “servants of the servants of God.”

⁷ Schramm, “Das Herrscherbild,” p. 221.

⁸ *De investigatione Antichristi*, anno 1162, MGH LdL 3:393: “. . . ut in gestis ecclesiasticis legitur, prudenti humilitate repulit, nam coronam ex auro fabrefacta, corone clericali superponi passus non est. At nunc dum animosius talia sub nomine et officio marescalci exiguntur, non mirum, si a regibus et imperatoribus minori dignatione redduntur aut omnino negantur . . . ut talis honorificentia de strepa seu freno tenendo Romanis pontificibus a regibus vel imperatoribus eisdem exhiberetur, sed quo fructu ipsi viderint. Nam mihi videtur talis obsequii exhibitio magis hinc superbie, hinc vero indignationis et odii fometem ministrare, quam ut aliquis inde fructus salutaris proveniat. Dum enim Romani occasione talis obsequii reges vel imperatores homines suos in cameris sive in publico pigunt, locuntur et scribunt, quid hoc spirat nisi superbiam aut quem fructum inde consecuntur nisi iram principum, indignationem et calumniam? Aut enim imperialem eis coronam cum nomine detrahant et sic eos sue ditioni subiciant vel hominio obligent, si est unde id facere possint et debeant atque uno carentes augustali imperio mille super se dominos sustineant, aut si eos imperiali corona et nomine honorant, quomodo eos versa vice hominii pictura et nomine dehonestant?”

Under these circumstances Gerhoh said, it was astonishing that a new picture will have emerged, which portrays the emperor of the Romans as a marshal.⁹

The "new picture" almost certainly referred to the paintings in the Lateran palace, but whether it was painted after the series by Innocent is disputable. Certainly nothing that Panvinus or Chacon transmitted hinted of a horse, and Rasponi's unreliable drawing had the emperor on the horse. It is possible that not having seen the painting, but having learned that Lothar was depicted as a vassal, Gerhoh assumed that the picture portrayed the performance of the *officium stratoris*, either at Liège or during the coronation procession. More probably Innocent had commissioned such a fresco in his coronation series, but it had been expunged before Chacon made his drawings. Gerhoh's characterization of the painting as "new" did not necessarily mean recent in his own time, but new in terms of the time of Sylvester and Catholic tradition with which he was contrasting present attitudes.

It is, of course, possible that Adrian IV or Alexander III commissioned a fresco depicting Frederick's performance of the *officium stratoris et strepae* at Sutri, and that this was the "new picture" to which Gerhoh referred. This hypothesis is improbable, however, for Adrian would have had nothing to gain by further enraging Frederick, who was already upset by the fresco of Lothar. The same argument would be true for Alexander, but if he had commissioned such a political painting, Rahewin or someone else would have noted the insult. And even if one of the popes following Innocent had ordered a fresco to be painted depicting the emperor as his marshal, it would still have conveyed the same message as the inscription under the coronation frescoes recorded by Rahewin. It was this papal claim of imperial vassalage that Gerhoh found to be so reprehensible. His sharp rebuke of the imperial papacy reveals the deep ideological cleavage that separated him from Innocent.

⁹ *De quarta vigilia noctis*, anno 1167, MGH LdL 3:511–512: "et, ut novam Babyloniam Romam respiciamus, beatus papa Silvester ab augusto Constantino regalis magnificentiae honoribus peditus non se honorantem inhonoravit et quamvis ei, pro sui humilitate semel stratoris exhibuerit, non tamen eum suum esse marescalchum vel dixit vel scripsit vel pinxit. Sed et multi post ipsum catholici leguntur imperatores monarchiam tenentes fuisse, quorum quis fuerit marescalchus dictus domni pape non invenimus. Immo certum tenemus, quod Romani pontifices et imperatores invicem se honore prevenientes pacifice vixerunt, et mutuo ab invicem quesierunt adiutoria suis dignitatibus decentia, sicut testantur epistolae Romanorum pontificum Deum timentium, regem honorificantium iuxta illud Petri: *Deum time, regem honorificate*. Cum ergo invenimus in antiquis epistolis, quod Romani pontifices humiliter scribendo imperatoribus vocaverunt eos 'dominos' aut 'filios carissimos', quin etiam se ipsos dixerunt 'servos servorum Dei', valde miramur, unde nova pictura hec emerit, qua Romanorum imperator pingitur marescalchus . . ."

Gerhoh was equally critical of Calixtus for allowing the emperor to interfere with the church by drawing its prelates into the feudal system. He castigated Calixtus for his agreement with Henry V in the Concordat of Worms, because his concession was interpreted to mean that for the first time German bishops owed homage to the emperor.¹⁰ Gerhoh appeared to share the two worlds view of the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* according to which neither should try to subordinate the other. He wanted to return to the model of the early church, where prelates imitated the apostles rather than knights, and where popes concentrated on their religious functions rather than vying with the emperor for superiority in the secular sphere.¹¹ His model was the Pauline dictum, "Deum timete, regem honorificate." Innocent had a different vision. In the Lateran Council of 1139 he stated: "you know that Rome is the head of the world, and that by license of the Roman pontiff the highest title (*celsitudo*) of ecclesiastical honor is received as if by custom of feudal right, and without his permission, it is not legally held."¹²

B. PROPAGANDA; THE ACTUAL SITUATION

In this oration to the prelates attending the Lateran Council of 1139 Innocent was uncharacteristically direct. In other cases he exploited ambiguity, the art form which Adrian IV would perfect in his diplomacy with Frederick. Adrian challenged Frederick again and again, moving from vague suggestions to overt claims of papal superiority, but when the emperor confronted him, he usually backed off. The beauty of the technique was that it allowed room for flexibility. When Frederick objected to performing the office of strator at Sutri, he was reassured that the ritual did not impugn his authority or his dignity. Scarcely had his objections been met, when he saw Innocent's paintings in the Lateran palace with their inflammatory inscription. Rahewin reports that he was greatly displeased, but that Adrian assured him that to forestall a dispute between the emperor and the papacy, both the paintings and the inscription would be expunged.¹³ Presumably Adrian carried out half of the agreement, since Rahewin is the only observer to have recorded the

¹⁰ *De Ordine donorum sancti Spiritus*, MGH LdL 3:279.

¹¹ *De Aedificio Dei*, MGH LdL 3:142-178; Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg* (Wiesbaden, 1960), pp. 42-47.

¹² *Cbronicon Mauriniacense*, Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae* 2, p. 251: "Nostis, quia Roma caput est mundi et quia a Romani Pontificis licentia ecclesiastici honoris celsitudo quasi foederalis iuris consuetudine suscipitur et sine eius permissione legaliter non tenetur." Ladner uses this text as an argument that Innocent intended a feudal interpretation of the painting. *Papstbildnisse* 2, n. 4, p. 20.

¹³ See ch. 13, n. 35.

inscription directly, but at least some of the paintings were still there for Panvinus and Chacon to see in the sixteenth century. Possibly a painting depicting Lothar's performance of the *officium strepae*, had been removed.

With these precedents it is hardly surprising that in the Diet of Besançon of 1157 the Germans took umbrage when the papal chancellor, Rolandus Bandinelli, presented the emperor with a letter from Adrian stating that Frederick had received his empire as a *beneficium* from the pope. Frederick's chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, translated *beneficium* as "fief", its usual meaning in this period, although it could literally mean "benefit." This time Adrian was slow to temporize. Expecting support from the German bishops, he sent them a letter, again using "beneficium" in a sense which could be construed as "fief." When even they objected, he wrote to Frederick, protesting that he had only meant "good deed."¹⁴

But Rainald of Dassel was not just being provocative in translating "beneficium" as "fief." There was too much evidence that the pope was making such a claim, and Innocent's paintings of Lothar were part of that evidence. Rahewin reports that those present at the Diet of Besançon believed that Rainald's translation was correct because they knew that some popes had rashly maintained that the German kings possessed imperial power in Rome and Italy by gift of the pope. Not only did they communicate these pretensions orally, Rahewin charged, but also in writing and in pictures. In this context he cites Innocent's paintings of Lothar and the accompanying inscription. Clearly, then, the paintings and inscription together implied that the emperor possessed authority over Rome and Italy as a fief from the pope.

Frederick obviously did not accept this view of imperial authority. In a letter written to the German bishops in 1158 he accused the church of attempting to destroy the empire. "It began with a picture, the picture became an inscription, the inscription seeks to become an authoritative utterance. We shall not endure it, we shall not submit to it; we shall lay down the crown before we consent to have the imperial crown and ourself thus degraded. Let the pictures be destroyed, let the inscription be withdrawn, that they may not remain as eternal memorials of enmity between the empire and the papacy."¹⁵ In this ringing statement

¹⁴ Brian Tierney briefly discusses these issues in *The Crisis of Church and State*, pp. 97–109.

¹⁵ Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris*, ed. cit. as in ch. 13, n. 35; tr. C. C. Mierow, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin* (New York, 1935), p. 193; prior to this statement (*Gesta*, p. 188) Frederick asserts: "Debitam patri nostro reverentiam libenter exhibemus, liberam imperii nostri coronam divino tantum beneficio

Frederick resoundingly rejected Innocent's vision of the relationship between the empire and the papacy, and before the inscription could become solidified as an "authoritative utterance", he intended to scotch this audacious assault on imperial authority.

Although Innocent encouraged the perception of the pope as the emperor's feudal overlord, and in the inscription accompanying the coronation frescoes he was explicit, his actual relationship with Lothar bore little resemblance to this perception. On the whole Lothar treated Innocent with great respect, but he still guarded his prerogatives. His performance of the *officium stratoris* in 1131 was no exception. After the ceremony he immediately threw Innocent's camp into a state of disarray by demanding a return to the status between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* prior to the Concordat of Worms. Even though he did not press his demands on this occasion, he did not relinquish them. As he was approaching Rome for his coronation in 1133, he was met by Anaclet's representatives, who intensified their efforts to convince him to arbitrate the papal elections. Although he was attracted to the idea, he eventually decided against it. Nevertheless, the fact that he even considered calling a synod to adjudicate the schism shows that he was still the arbiter of its outcome. Under such precarious circumstances Innocent could never have imposed the radical innovation of making Lothar his vassal during the coronation ceremony.

The imperial records support this conclusion. Not only did Lothar not swear a feudal oath, but after the coronation ceremonies he again demanded the return of imperial investitures. When Innocent was on the point of conceding, Norbert of Xanten, archbishop of Magdeburg, delivered an impassioned speech, convincing both Innocent and Lothar to retreat from a move, which Norbert maintained would have returned the church to a state of bondage.¹⁶ The need to sustain Innocent even after

ascribimus. . . . In capite orbis Deus per imperium exaltavit aecclesiam, in capite orbis aecclesia, non per Deum, ut credimus, nunc demolitur imperium." Panvinus, *Description du Latran*, ed. Lauer, pp. 478–479: "Quos versus Fridericus Barbarusca (sic) Imperator tanquam imperii preiudicium quod non a Papa sed a Deo immediate esse contendebat eradivisset ut tradi Otto Frisingensis lib. II de gestis Friderici Imperatoris;" Tierney, *Crisis of Church and State*, pp. 108–109; Traeger, *Der Reitende Papst*, p. 47; Schramm, "Das Herrscherbild," pp. 145–224. On p. 162 Schramm states that paintings or images were frequently used in the Middle Ages as a political claim. As an example he mentions Leo III's decorations in the triclinium of the Lateran palace. He says that these paintings presented a program which the papacy strove to achieve, and that they succeeded beyond all expectation. The painting of Innocent and Lothar raised an emotional reaction north of the Alps, he concludes, because there they understood how deeply political these paintings were.

¹⁶ *Vita Norberti*, MGH SS 12:702: "Norbertus archiepiscopus in medium procedens" 'Quid,' inquit, 'pater agis? . . . Ecclesiam, quam suscepisti liberam, numquid redigis in ancillam? Cathedra Petri requirit opera Petri. Obedientiam quidem beato Petro et tibi pro Christi nomine promisis, sed se, quod a te postulatur, egeris, ecce in facie ecclesiae contradico tibi.' Sic et pater Norbertus peroravit, et se imperator ab inordinata petitione et apostolicus ab illicita concessione continuerunt." See also Bernhardi, *Lothar*, p. 478.

the ceremony shows that the relative position of power had not changed, and most emphatically, it demonstrates that the emperor was not a papal vassal.

Trying to reconcile the inscription with the actual situation in 1133, some historians suggest that the second scene of the frescoes referred to Innocent's investiture of Lothar with the lands of Countess Mathilda of Tuscany.¹⁷ On June 8th, a few days after the coronation ceremony, Innocent issued a document investing Lothar with these lands, using a ring as the symbol of investiture. Even though there is no mention of homage, one could nevertheless speculate that Lothar did perform it. Other documents, however, imply that he did not, since they specifically mandate that homage be performed. Innocent extended the concession of the lands to Duke Henry of Bavaria and his wife with the stipulation that they perform homage and swear fealty. He also required that Mathilda's castelans and rectors perform homage and swear an oath of fealty.¹⁸ This purposeful requirement of homage juxtaposed with its glaring omission for Lothar almost certainly indicates that the emperor did not receive the Mathildine lands as a vassal.

As another indication of how greatly Innocent's propaganda emitted from the painting and inscription diverged from the actual situation in 1133, he issued a clarification of the Concordat of Worms, generally referred to as the *Innocentianum*, on the very day on which he invested Lothar with the lands of the Countess Mathilda.¹⁹ Bowing to Lothar's pressure, Innocent admonished German prelates not to usurp the *regalia*, but to receive those perquisites from the emperor. During the remainder of his reign Lothar continued to exercise his imperial prerogatives, and no evidence even hints that he ruled as a papal vassal. He faced down Innocent in the abbatial election at Montecassino in 1137, preventing the pope from imposing his candidate, and facilitating the election of the German, Wibald of Stablo.²⁰ In another confrontation over the right to invest Rainulf of Alife with his duchy in Southern Italy, neither he nor

¹⁷ Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum Vitae*, 2, p. 209; both Maccarrone ("L'incoronazione imperiale," pp. 34–36) and Frugoni ("A Pictura Cepit," p. 125) hold this view. Ladner argues against it; *Papstbildnisse* 2, p. 19 and "I Mosaici e gli Affreschi," p. 287; Traeger agrees with Ladner; *Der Reitende Papst*, p. 45; see also Bernhardt, *Lothar*, p. 482. Bernhardt points out that Innocent was careful to use the non-feudal expression, "bona data" rather than "beneficium", which Adrian IV used at Besançon in 1157. He notes that the wording of the document reveals that the investiture of goods took place in a ceremonial setting, and suggests that it could have been on the coronation day itself before the crowning. Lothar was no doubt glad to get the legal title to the property because of Conrad's counter claims.

¹⁸ MGH Const. 1:169.

¹⁹ MGH Const. 1:168–169; Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*, pp. 251–263.

²⁰ Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, p. 226; Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, pp. 61–64 with sources.

Innocent would back down. They resolved the impasse by compromising, agreeing to invest Rainulf together. Lothar would hold one side of the banner, and Innocent the other.²¹

The frescoes and inscription, therefore, represent Innocent's pretensions and aspirations rather than an accurate depiction of the coronation ceremony.²² Innocent had them executed during the reign of the Conrad III, when there was no strong imperial power to protest. They initiated an aggressive policy toward the emperor in which the pope feigned extreme claims, much in the style which Gregory VII had pioneered in the *Dictatus Papae*. By using innuendo and ambiguity he was able to retreat gracefully when standing by such positions became too costly. In the paintings Innocent never explicitly portrayed the emperor as his vassal, but he painted a scene, which, in conjunction with the inscription, could be interpreted as such. If pressed, as Adrian IV later was by Frederick, he could remove the inscription and leave the iconography of the painting vague.

Innocent obviously never intended to establish papal lordship over the emperor as a matter of principle.²³ He never articulated such a claim, and it had no bearing on Lothar's successors. Conrad entitled himself "Romanorum rex Augustus" and "semper Augustus" even though he never received the imperial crown, much less performed homage. And when the impertinent Roman Senate offered Frederick Barbarossa the imperial crown in return for 5000 pounds of pure gold, the proud German king angrily replied that he possessed Rome by right of conquest of the Frankish kings.

What Innocent hoped to achieve by the frescoes and the inscription in the Lateran palace was something much less ambitious than the canonicity of imperial vassalage. He simply wanted to erode the image of imperial authority, to undermine it so that in the future it would be vulnerable to the next encroachment. And he picked the right moment.

²¹ Paul Fridolin Kehr, "Die Belehnungen der süditalienischen Normannenfürsten durch die Päpste (1059–1192)," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. His. Kl. nr. 1 (Berlin, 1934), p. 41.

²² The feudal implications of the inscription under the Lateran frescoes may have been a more palatable formulation of Honorius Augustodunensis' assertion that the apostle—presumably St. Peter—elects the emperor. *Summa Gloria*, MGH LdL 3:73: "Imperator Romanus debet ab apostolico eligi, consensu principum et acclamatione plebis in caput populi constitui, a papa consecrari et coronari." The editor, I. Dieterich, says in n. 1 following *eligi*: "Nescio, unde Honorius hanc opinionem haud dubie falsam sumpserit."

²³ By contrast he was forced to acknowledge Roger of Sicily's kingship. Making a virtue out of necessity, he ignored the fact that Anaclet had already made him king, and claimed that he had done it. In this case he unambiguously stated that Roger was a vassal of the holy see. Grimaldi reported that an inscription in the second room of the Vatican Pontifical archives of Paul V stated: "Innocentius secundus Rogerium Siciliae comitem regio titulo ornat, et apostolicae sedis feudatarium facit." Grimaldi, *Barb. Lat.* 2733, fol. 460v.

While the unfortunate Conrad was battling the Welfs and failing to conquer the Holy Land, a generation of churchmen in Rome was becoming accustomed to seeing the emperor portrayed as a papal vassal. Frederick keenly sensed the danger. He insisted on being assured that the performance of the *officium stratoris et strepae* had no feudal implications, and he demanded that the frescoes and inscription be removed. When Adrian IV continued Innocent's policy by employing "beneficium" in a way which suggested that Frederick held his empire as a fief from the pope, Frederick's clever chancellor pounced on the use of this slippery, duplicitous term. The emperor did not let it slip by; he demanded a retraction.²⁴

More immediately, the frescoes put Innocent in a position to deal with the unrest in Rome. Dissatisfaction with papal rule, especially among members of the rising commercial class, forced him to employ all possible means to defend his authority. By using imagery to awe the rebellious populace, he hoped to thwart its dream of reviving the Roman Senate and of establishing a commune. In part his strategy was similar to that of Calixtus—to conceal weakness through bravado. It was a brave show, but it ultimately failed, for the restive Romans did exactly what Innocent had feared.²⁵ However, at the end of the century the challenging frescoes had a resonant echo, for when the great ruling pope sought a name to characterize his objectives, he could do no better than to entitle himself Innocent III.

C. ST. PETER'S

While Innocent II focused on the symbolism of the Lateran in order to accentuate his imperial image, and to continue to shift the balance of authority between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in favor of the papacy, he did not neglect to pay homage to St. Peter. As compared with the "Constantiniana", however, he did not personally identify himself with the apostolic basilica. Only a quarter of a century after his death Petrus Mallius recorded his contributions to the Vatican, and in the seventeenth Grimaldi mentioned others. He noted that the roof of the nave was covered with large bronze tiles, and that among them were a few made of lead

²⁴ *Gesta Friderici*, ed. cit., p. 179: "Cumque per electionem principum a solo Deo regnum et imperium nostrum sit, qui in passione Christi filii sui duobus gladiis necessariis regendum orbem subiecit, cumque Petrus apostolus hac doctrina mundum informaverit: 'Deum timete, regem honorificate,' quicumque nos imperialem coronam pro beneficio a domno papa suscepisse dixerit, divinae institutioni et doctrinae Petri contrariusest et mendacii reus erit."

²⁵ For one of the more recent works on the Roman commune see Laura Moscati, *Alle Origini del Comune Romano: Economia Società Istituzioni* (Naples, 1980).

identifying the popes since Honorius I, who had restored the roof. He cited the names of Alexander Papa III. Innocentius Papa II. Innocentius PP. III. Celestinus PP. III. Benedictus PP. XII. Frater Romanvs.²⁶

Innocent placed a great, silver cross gilded with gold, and weighing one hundred pounds to the right of the apostle's altar. He also restored the cross carried in stational processions, and he covered the altar with precious golden cloths.²⁷ Even though Petrus Mallius asserted that Pope Simmachus had moved the famous bronze pinea to the Almachia, Maffeo Vegio claims that Innocent transported it to its new home in the Vatican.²⁸ To support the canons of St. Peter's he granted them half of the offerings of all of the altars in Santa Maria in Turri and in St. Peter's except for the altar of Leo IX.²⁹ Outside of the basilica he renewed the *porticus* of St. Peter's up to the church of Santa Maria Transpontina, and covered it with a roof of magnificent tiles.³⁰

In Santa Maria in Turri Innocent incised the following inscription into the marble slab over the high altar:

Est. In. Honore. Piae. Domus Is-
ta. Sacrata. Mariae.

²⁶ Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 101r-101v; in his *schedae* Panvinus lists Innocent II first; Vat Lat. 6780, fol. 221v; see also idem, *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 232.

²⁷ Ibid., fols. 321v-322r: "Innocentius papa II ad ornatum altaris beati Petri fecit fieri magnam crucem argenteam pensantem .C. libras, et deauratam posuit iuxta altare beati Petri manu dextera. Renovavit etiam crucem stationalem, quae vadit per stationes, et beati Petri altare optimis et deauratis vestibus vestivit." Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti *Codice Topografico* 3, p. 436; L. Schiaparelli, "Le carte antiche dell'archivio capitolare di S. Pietro," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 25 (1902), 279, #37.

²⁸ "Pineam Sancti Petri in Almachia praedictus Innocentius papa ibi poni fecit, translata de Sancto Stefano in Pineam, qui a dicta pinea sumpsit nomen." *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus basilicae S. Petri Romae*, ed. Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 4, p. 136. Since Mallius wrote much closer to the reign of Innocent, it is more probable that he was correct in attributing the pinea to Simmachus. Nevertheless, the discrepancy still needs to be explained.

²⁹ Grimaldi, Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 57r-57v for the chapel of Sancta Petronilla; fol. 64r: "Idem auctor [Petrus Mallius], ut videre est in eodem archivio, ex antiqua scriptura in membranis, de consuetudinibus ecclesiae Sancti Petri, scribit, quod Innocentius secundus condidit privilegium, in quo concessit canonicis praefatis medietatem omnium ministeriorum idest omnium altarium quae sunt in ecclesia et Sancta Maria in Turri, praeterquam altaris sancti Leonis noni papae." See also fol. 154v.

³⁰ Ibid., fol. 150v: "Innocentius item secundus, ut inquit Mallius, dictum porticum instauravit usque ad ecclesiam Santa Mariae Transpontinae, quae erat ubi nunc sunt dicti aggeres et fossae." fol. 322r: "Ante Leonem quartum civitas Leoniana, quae hodie Burgus dicitur. Porticus appellabatur habens domos cum porticibus ante incipientes a castro Sancti Angeli ad basilicam Sancti Petri, ut ex Anastasio in Hadriano primo fol. 107 qui porticum super ripam fluminis, quae ducit ad beatum Petrum, arcum et angustam existentem, duodecim millibus topis in littore alvei fluminis in fundamento positus a solo usque ad summum tectum mirae magnitudinis porticum reparavit et usque ad gradus beati Petri restauravit. . . . Innocentius secundus, ut narrat Petrus Mallius, porticum restauravit usque ad Sanctam Mariam Transpontinam, quae erat in capite porticus ad fossas arcis Hadrianae." Petrus Mallius, *Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae*, ed. cit., p. 436.

Hoc. Innocenti. Te, Praesule. Perficiente. Cui. Suberat.

Underneath the inscription were three circles evenly spaced. The first contained Sanctus Lucus in the form of an ox, the second was empty (*vacuum*) when Grimaldi saw it, and the third enclosed Sanctus Mattheus in the form of a man.³¹ Within the altar lay the relics of St. Innocent, and those of St. Maurice and his companions.³² Whether Innocent placed them there is not clear, but the saints chosen are at least suggestive, and seem to reflect the emphasis on St. Maurice witnessed in the imperial coronation *ordo* C.

It is probable that Innocent envisioned the altar as a politically symbolic site for future coronation ceremonies, for the first coronation performed in St. Peter's following the interrupted and coerced ceremonies of 1111 incorporated Santa Maria in Turri.³³ Boso notes that it was before the altar in Santa Maria in Turri that Adrian IV awaited Frederick Barbarossa. Frederick knelt before Adrian, placed his hands within those of the pope, and swore the oath of security.³⁴ Both Panvinus and Alphanus indicate that similar ceremonies at Santa Maria in Turri became customary.³⁵

By his concern for the welfare of the canons and his generous gifts Innocent maintained a kind of rough parity between St. Peter's and the Lateran.³⁶ He also created symbols in both churches to enhance the

³¹ Ibid., fol. 154v, fig. 79; see also Idem, Vat. Lat. 11988, fols. 155v–156r.

³² Ibid.

³³ Santa Maria in Turri is not mentioned in the carefully staged ceremony of February 1111. *Disputatio vel Defensio Paschalis Papae*, LdL 2:658–666, at p. 660: February 4, 1111, “. . . cum domnus papa ad excipiendum eum ad beati Petri ecclesiam cum Romanis fere omnibus exisset et ei obviam cruces, turibula, iudices et alios ordines, sicut consuetudo exiget, direxisset: ipse quidem rex usque ad atrium aecclisae pacifice venit, lupum portans sub ovina pelle, et osculatis pedibus domni pape, ipse ab eo amplexatus et tercio osculatus est, et mox in aecclisiam cum episcopis cardinalibus . . . ”

³⁴ *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 392: “. . . et ad ecclesiam beate Marie in Turri in qua eum ante altare pontifex expectabat ascendens . . . ”

³⁵ Alphanus, *De Basilicae Vaticanae Structura*, pp. 123–124: “In parastate ad meridiem contra orientem erat antiquissimum Altare dictum sanctae Mariae in Turri, ante quod electus in Imperatorem ad Basilicam a summo Pontifice coronandus proficiscens . . . ” Panvinus, *De Basilica Vaticana*, ed. Mai, p. 262: “Legitur autem in vetere libro rituali sic: ‘. . . ante portas aereas sanctae Mariae in turribus, ubi sedens dominus Papa in sede sua circumstantibus episcopis, et Cardinalibus, diaconis et ceteris ordinibus ecclesiae suscipit imperatorem, et uxorem, et omnes proceres suos ad osculum pedis, coram quo imperator sollemne praestat fidelitatis iuramentum.’” Note that Panvinus refers to the oath as “fidelitatis iuramentum.”

³⁶ He also cultivated San Paolo Fuori le Mura, the second of the apostolic sees, but it had less political significance than the Lateran or St. Peter's. Moreover, it mainly supported Anaclet during the schism. The violence rife there during this period reduced it to a miserable state. Around 1138 Innocent rebuilt a great part of the roof of the basilica, and enclosed the complex within great walls. *Lib. Pont.* 2, p. 384; Schuster, *La Basilica e il monastero do S. Paolo fuori le Mura*, pp. 95–98; Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, p. 655.

dignity of the papacy, but his personal involvement was with Constantine's palace and basilica. It was at the Lateran—the vestige of the emperor—where he handed down the law, had his image painted on the walls, and left his earthly remains.

D. CONCLUSION

To see Innocent, therefore, as a pope whose vision of the church coincided with the ideals of the French reformers is to oversimplify his reign. Even though he continued to foster internal ecclesiastical reform, he did not abandon competition with the emperor, and he molded the papacy into an exponentially more centralized and imperial institution. Throughout his whole reign, starting from the very beginning with his precarious survival as a viable contender for the papacy, he used imagery to achieve his goals. He constantly probed for weaknesses in imperial power so that he could turn these vulnerabilities to his own advantage. Lothar offered him few opportunities, but after the Saxon ruler's death, and his own instatement in Rome, he held the upper hand. He eliminated the powerful and independent Duke Henry of Bavaria as Lothar's successor, and manipulated the election of the less threatening Conrad. Then he commissioned his paintings in the Lateran palace, and overlooked no occasion for using the imperial trappings himself.

A miniature from one of the manuscripts of the *Chronicon* of Otto of Freising (1114–1158) reveals this imperial image, and shows that Innocent impressed people as Gregory VII's true heir (plate 44).³⁷ Dated in the later twelfth century, the manuscript probably was copied from the original exemplar of the second redaction, which Otto had dedicated to Frederick I in 1157. Otto himself is thought to have influenced the selection of illustrations. The miniature shows Innocent combatting the Roman Senate, which had just been reconstituted during the last year of his pontificate. The protagonists are identified as "Innocentius papa II" and "Senatus." In the margin an inscription reads:

His antiquatum vult Roma novare senatum.
Consilio cleri vult papa nefas inhiberi.

For Otto's conception of Innocent's authority the most revealing feature of the miniature is Innocent's tiara.³⁸ While in the paintings in the Lateran

³⁷ Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Jenensis Bose 06. fol. 91v; Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 2, pp. 22–23.

³⁸ Sources in this period use the terms *frigium*, *tiara*, and even *mitre* imprecisely. Cecchelli recognizes this confusion, and concludes that the *frigium* was a high, conical tiara. *Vita di Roma* vol. 2, pp. 823–824. He cites Paschal II as the first pope to use the tiara, and Innocent II as the first to add a corona to the *frigium* (St. Denis, 1130). *Ibid.*, 966–967.

palace it contained only one band, in the miniature it has two—one lower and the other upper like a diadem. Benzo of Alba had claimed that Nicholas II wore a double-banded tiara, a *regalis corona* with a *corona regni de manu Dei*, and a *diadema imperii de manu Petri*.³⁹ The tiara thus conceived, Benzo had declared, was an innovation of the archdeacon Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII. Although some historians are sceptical of Benzo's account because of his antipathy toward Gregory, Gerhart Ladner believes that the Jena Codex gives a certain confirmation

The Donation of Constantine uses the term, *frigium*. #14, "Pro quo concedimus ipsis sanctis apostolis . . . diadema videlicet coronam capitis nostri simulque frigium. . . ." #16, "ipse vero sanctissimus papa super coronam clericatus, quam gerit ad gloriam beati Petri, omnino ipsa ex auro non est passus uti corona, frygium vero candido nitore splendidam resurrectionem dominicam designans eius sacratissimo vertici manibus nostris posuimus, et tenentes frenum equi ipsius pro reverentia beati Petri stratoris officium illi exhibuimus; statuentes, eundem frygium omnes eius successores pontifices singulariter uti in processionibus." Mirbt/Aland, *Quellen* 1, pp. 254–255; Bernhard Sirch states that Honorius Augustodunensis falsified the Donation of Constantine by stating that Constantine granted Sylvester the crown, while not mentioning the "frygium." *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Mitra und päpstlichen Tiara*, vol. 8 of *Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien* (St. Ottilien, 1975), pp. 119–120. Honorius' views are important, because they were current at the time of Innocent, and may well have influenced him. In the *Summa gloria* c. 17, LdL 3:71 Honorius says: " . . . Qui Constantinus Romano Pontifici coronam regni imposuit, et ut nullus deinceps Romanum imperium absque consensu apostolici subiret, imperiali auctoritate censuit. Hoc privilegium Silvester a Constantino accepit, hoc successoribus suis reliquit." The author of the *Graphia Aurea* speaks of the nine crowns of emperors. The seventh is the: "frigium ad imitationem regni Troiani, de quo Romanum imperium processit; nam frigium reges Troiani ferre soliti erant." Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, #43, p. 98.

³⁹ Benzo of Alba, *Ad Henricum IV imperatorem*, MGH SS 11:591–681, lib. VII, 2, p. 672: "Corrumpens igitur Prandellus [Gregory VII] Romanos multis pecuniis multisque periuriis, indixit synodum, ubi regali corona suum coronavit hydolum. Quod cerenentes episcopi, facti sunt velut mortui. Legebatur autem in inferiori circulo eiusdem serti ita: 'Corona regni de manu Dei.' In altero vero sic: 'Diadema imperii de manu Petri.' Requiritur liber Augustini de civitate Dei, et discite, quod super consimile presumptione operata est formidanda manus imperatoris Pompeii." cf. Isaiah 62.3: "Et eris corona gloriae in manu Domini et diadema regni in manu Dei tui." Cecchelli, *Vita di Roma* 2, p. 970. Ladner, *Papstbildnisse* 2, p. 24.

Interestingly, the frescoes in the chapel of San Silvestro in the basilica of Quattro Coronati remodeled in 1246 by Innocent IV, the bitter foe of Frederick II, and intrepid champion of papal authority, show a *frigium* of only one band. The frescoes depict Constantine's handing over of the *frigium* to Sylvester, who is seated on a throne, and wearing a mitre. Since Constantine is bareheaded, presumably he has removed the *frigium* from his own head. In the next fresco, Constantine, wearing the imperial crown, is performing the *officium stratoris* for Sylvester, who is now wearing the *frigium*. In the same frescoes the umbrella is transferred from the emperor to the pope. Since Innocent IV only remodeled the chapel, he could have copied frescoes painted from an earlier period. The famous frescoes still exist, and are reproduced in many places, e. g. Traeger, *Der Reitende Papst*, Abb. 2, 3, p. 122.

Grimaldi explains what a three-crowned tiara would eventually be. Speaking of the *imagines* over the sepulchre of Otto II he says: "Imago beati Petri tres claves gestantis ostendunt ipsi beato Petro et successoribus eius praemortuis, ipsique Paulo V hac tempestate viventi a Iesu Christo aeterno Deo tres traditas potestates: imperatoriam, regiam et sacerdotalem, iuxta propheticum oraculum: 'Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas et destruas, aedifices et plantes etc.' Quod aperte significat thiara pontificia tribus coronis ornata." Vat. Barb. 2733, fol. 240v.

to Benzo's assertion. Ladner argues that Benzo's interpretation of the tiara is reinforced by Suger's description of the tiara or *frigium*, which Innocent wore at the Easter ceremony at St. Denis in 1131. Suger calls attention to its imperial nature, and notes that it was surrounded by a golden circle.⁴⁰ Ladner thinks that it is possible that Innocent revived Gregory's innovation, which had fallen into desuetude, but he admits that this conclusion depends upon the reliability of Benzo's report.

Whether or not Hildebrand created the two-banded tiara, and whether or not Innocent wore such a tiara, is less important than the impression that each of them could have. A tiara of two bands would have been consistent with Gregory's hierocratic claims in the *Dictatus Papae*. Likewise, the image which Innocent projected makes it reasonable to surmise that he would wear a tiara transcending mere Constantinian symbolism. Bishop Otto of Freising was one of the most knowledgeable men of his time, and as a Cistercian monk and an uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, he was in a uniquely advantageous position to see both sides of the contest between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. If he visualized Innocent as wearing a two-banded tiara, then that conception was probably the common perception of this political pope.

Together, written evidence and imagery indicate that the most distinctive feature of Innocent's reign was its imperial hallmark. It is this character far more than any division over attitudes toward ecclesiastical reform, which distinguished him from Anaclet.⁴¹ Innocent rather than Anaclet was the conservative, for it was he who modeled himself on the hierocratic views of Gregory VII. As Henry IV's feisty opponent Gregory had pointed the way toward making the emperor a papal vassal, and while Innocent did not fulfill his predecessor's goal, he did the next best thing; he asserted that he had.

⁴⁰ Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, p. 262; Cecchelli, *Vita di Roma* 2, n. 1, p. 970. Cecchelli believes that Ladner and others mistakenly interpret the passage from Benzo as relative only to one crown "a doppio cerchio. Nemmeno Benzo poteva pensare per l'uso ecclesiastico ad una vera e propria corona di tipo civile, ma ad una corona duplice applicata ad altro copricapo già entrato nel costume papale. Per lui era scandalosa quella applicazione, che costituiva una usurpazione di potere."

⁴¹ The *Graphia*, inclined toward the Pierleoni, and written by a partisan of Anaclet, does not transfer imperial attributes to the pope. Rather, at the end of a long section on the emperor, it states: "Solus imperator est qui post Deum omnium obtinet potestatem, et omnium iura legesque dispensat, et omnium moderatur habenas, et qui ab omnibus usque ad terram est salutandus." Valentini & Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico* 3, #49, p. 109.

Chapter 15

A DIP IN THE CURVE

From an examination of the foregoing array of basilicas, frescoes, mosaics, altars, thrones, *ordines*, inscriptions, processions, ceremonies, liturgical garb and the like, some generalizations emerge. One of the most obvious is that while popes following the Investiture Contest shared many similar objectives, they also held profoundly disparate conceptions of the papacy and its place in Christian society. It would be a distortion to see a steady progression toward papal monarchy from the beginning of the reform papacy in the mid-eleventh century until its realization at the end of the twelfth. Between the Concordat of Worms and conclusion of the papal schism the upward thrust of this curve dipped. While Calixtus, Honorius, and Innocent pursued a policy of papal aggrandizement, Anaclet harked back to the paleochristian church.

To enhance the authority and prestige of the papacy Calixtus modified liturgy, created pageantry, and emphasized majestic motifs. The disk of royal porphyry on the back of the papal throne in Santa Maria in Cosmedin, and the heroic lions serving as arm rests, boldly cast the pope as the ruler of the Christian world. While the rebuilding of St. Chrysogonus stood out as a monument commemorating the capture of the pope who had come to power through imperial intervention, the frescoes in the audience room in the Lateran palace portrayed this victory as the culmination of the struggle between emperors and popes of the reform. Calixtus identified himself with the other reform popes who had defeated their papal rivals, but at the same time he distanced himself from them. The inscriptions and iconography insinuate not too subtly that Calixtus was more distinguished than they, and that only he had bested the emperor. While Burdinus lay crushed under his feet, Calixtus sat regally on his throne, jointly holding a scroll of the Concordat of Worms with Henry. In case Henry's concessions written on the scroll were too small to make out clearly, viewers could see his charter painted elsewhere on the wall. Successive generations of dignitaries and papal functionaries had only to glance up at the wall to see what the right order between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* should be.

Possibly the iconography of the frescoes can be read on a still deeper level. The scroll Calixtus held with Henry may have been an allusion to

the Donation of Constantine, implying that the Concordat of Worms restored the rule of the West to the pope. Calixtus tightened his identification with the alleged recipient of the Donation when he reconstructed the major altar in St. Peter's basilica. By enclosing the structure first built by Sylvester into a much larger marble altar, he associated himself with the symbol of papal secular authority. By engraving his own name on the front of the beautiful new altar in large Roman letters he not only identified himself with Sylvester, but also with St. Peter.

As the probable author of the imperial coronation *ordo* frequently referred to as *ordo* C or Cencius II, Calixtus continued these themes. From the reception of the emperor-elect outside of St. Peter's to the conclusion of the ceremony ending with the procession to the Lateran and the rituals performed therein, the *ordo* programmed the emperor to demonstrate his reverence for the pope. By performing these rituals the emperor would also appear to be acknowledging his subordination to the papacy. At the climax of the ceremony—the coronation—the majesty of the emperor would be diminished by transacting the ceremony at the altar of St. Maurice rather than at the newly glorified major altar. Although the Burgundian saint was especially venerated by the Saxon kings, he had no linkage to the Roman emperors, and less than the highest status in the church.

The symbolism of the coronation *ordo* as well as the imagery of all of the other papal processions, consecrations and celebrations that Calixtus orchestrated projected a reinvigorated papacy. Not only could it maintain itself in Rome, but it could also stand up to the emperor by defeating his popes, and by regaining powers, which emperors of the past had usurped. Even though there was somewhat more show than substance in these metaphorical messages, Calixtus' accomplishments were formidable. His successor's decisive role in selecting the next emperor is confirmation of the shift in the balance of power, which Calixtus had brought about.

Following Calixtus' inventive manipulation of art and ceremony to promote his policies, Honorius' neglect of these media is an enigma. In his book on the bishop-elect Robert Benson recalls a famous conversation from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Silver Blaze*.¹ Commenting on a case with an inspector from Scotland Yard, Sherlock Holmes noted the curious incident of the dog in the night. The puzzled inspector responded that the dog had not done anything. "That," replied Holmes, "is the curious incident." The dog had not barked. The curious incident with Honorius is that unlike Calixtus before him, and Anaclet and Innocent after him, he

¹ Benson, *The Bishop-Elect*, p. 303.

hardly used imagery to influence public consciousness. He was the logical person to have completed the decorations of the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace, but he forfeited the opportunity to Anaclet. Like the non-barking dog of Sherlock Holmes, his failure to exploit imagery to convey his accomplishments or to advocate some new direction in which the church should move is curious indeed.

Anaclet revived the precedents set by Calixtus, but frequently the ideals he conveyed differed from those of his ambitious predecessor. He concentrated on religious rather than political themes, and emphasized the values of the early church. Ironically, it was he rather than Innocent, who translated into art St. Bernard's admonishments to return to the simple style of the early popes. In all probability one of his followers, Peter of Pisa, created the apse mosaic in San Clemente with its paleochristian motifs.

The two papal thrones with which he is associated contrast sharply with the regal counterpart of Calixtus in Santa Maria in Cosmedin. The starkly austere throne in San Clemente incised with "MARTYR" in monumental letters on its back identifies its creator with St. Clement, and by implication with Clement's predecessor, St. Peter himself. The throne in San Lorenzo in Lucina is also conspicuous for its simplicity. The only relief appears on the sides of the arms sculpted with the vine motif, identifying its author with the values of the early church.

Anaclet represents this same ideal in the apse painting in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the Lateran palace. While the painting celebrates the reform papacy, it does not disparage the emperor. In marked contrast with both Calixtus and Innocent, Anaclet does not portray himself as a victor, either over Innocent or over the emperor. The subject of the painting is primarily religious, focusing on Mary as queen of the heavens. It is a blueprint for the future, a future of striving to make the earthly church into the image of the heavenly church presided over by the pious Virgin.

In all probability Anaclet omitted Honorius from the popes represented as "sanctus" at the bottom of the fresco because he thought that his predecessor was not worthy of being included. Honorius had shown himself to be disdainful of one of the chief goals of the reform—regular papal elections without outside interference.² He had gained office through a coup, and had actively participated in the maneuvering that culminated in Innocent's manifestly illegal election. For these reasons at

² Paul Schmid, *Der Begriff der kanonischen Wahl in den Anfängen des Investiturstreites* (Stuttgart, 1926).

least Anaclet could not regard him as a reforming pope, and instead looked back to the reign of Calixtus.

He contrived the symmetry of the painting to identify himself with Calixtus in every respect but two. He portrayed Calixtus similarly to the sainted popes standing below, and himself as a neophyte who had still not achieved the dignity of the reform popes and their models. To draw attention to the second difference Anaclet used exemplars standing above Calixtus and himself. By placing Sylvester above Calixtus, Anaclet associated Calixtus with the ruling authority of the pope, his *plenitudo potestatis*. By placing Anaclet I without the tiara above himself, Anaclet identified with the papacy before Constantine. In the fresco he reinforced the same message that he had communicated in choosing his name—that he would emulate the traditions of the early followers of St. Peter. His model would be the *vita apostolica* of Christ's disciples, and it would be their ideals and traditions that he would promote.

Another lost painting in the chapel seems to reinforce the themes expressed in the great apse fresco. Although not even a sketch of the painting survives, the accompanying inscription admonished the ruler to follow the example of the noble lion, and to be sparing of those, who are prostrate. It could not have been coincidental that in the next room the reform popes were portrayed as victors grinding down the antipopes under their feet. This was not Anaclet's way. It was the *charitas* of Jesus rather than the wrath of the Father that he believed should guide the ruler.

Perhaps Anaclet belonged to the circle, which sparked a resurgence of the old legend portending the successor of Augustus. In the transformed versions in the *Mirabilia* and the *Graphia* Augustus sees a vision of the Virgin and Christ, whom he acknowledges will supersede the Caesars. It was a message of peaceful transition of power reminiscent of the Christian interpretation of the fourth *Eclogue* of Virgil. The altar Anaclet consecrated in Santa Maria in Capitolio commemorating the vision also incorporated overtones of his conception of the ruler. In the relief on the altar face Augustus assumes a position of supplication to the Virgin similar to the kneeling figures of Anaclet and Calixtus in the apse fresco in the chapel of St. Nicholas. Taken together the altar and the fresco indicate that both the emperor and the papacy should humble themselves before the heavenly church as represented by the Virgin.

It is even conceivable that the consecration of what came to be known as the *ara coeli* and the vast privilege Anaclet granted to Santa Maria in Capitolio signified that he and his followers had their own vision—that of reestablishing the Capitoline as the ruling center of Rome. The Senate

would govern, and the ultimate jurisdiction of Santa Maria over the hill would preclude the incursion of hostile Roman families. The proximity of Anaclet's family would assure Santa Maria of support, and make the dream a possibility, if not a reality.

When Innocent returned to Rome the emphasis shifted from an apostolic to an imperial papacy. With exquisite calculation he chose Santa Maria in Trastevere as his monument to commemorate the reunification of the church after eight corrosive years of the schism. By choosing his old opponent's last cardinalate church, he could at the same time lay the schism to rest and exact a bit of revenge. Since Santa Maria was centered in the heart of his family's power in Trastevere, its magnificent structure and ornamentation would also greatly enhance the Papareschi name.

Innocent transformed the new Santa Maria into an almost defiantly sumptuous royal hall, a quintessentially Roman basilica supported by huge imperial columns, and graced with a more intricately ornate floor than any other previously created in a Roman church. Not a trace of Bernardine spirituality restrained its efflorescence. Santa Maria represented the church triumphant, the phoenix emerging out of the ashes of the struggling, wounded victim, which had limped through the schism. The pollution had been cleansed, and the church in the guise of Maria Regina was again worthy of Christ's embrace. Standing among the saints, Innocent held the emblem of this purified, united church—the model of Santa Maria in Trastevere.

The inscription under the apse mosaic in San Clemente may have communicated a similar point. While to contemporaries it may have implied that Anaclet was the dessicator who had made the church to wither, Innocent would have been identified with the cross which again allowed the church to flourish.

Every pope paid respect to St. Peter's basilica, and Innocent was appropriately solicitous. He donated some handsome ornaments, made needed repairs, and saw to it that its canons received proper remuneration. Nevertheless, his main focus was on the Lateran. There, surrounded by imperial statuary embellished by his own porphyry sarcophagus, he presided over an ever increasing number of judicial proceedings. On the walls of the rooms he restored within the palace frescoes of scenes from the coronation of Lothar imparted his view of what the relationship between the pope and the emperor should be. Wearing the tiara—the symbol of his *plenitudo potestatis*—he insinuated that he had granted Lothar his imperial authority. In the inscription under the frescoes he stated unambiguously that Lothar had become his “man”, his vassal in the act of coronation. The contrast between his Constantinian image in these

frescoes and Anaclet's humble position in the apse painting gracing the adjoining chapel of St. Nicholas could not have been more profound.

But the inscription under the coronation frescoes was not as audacious as it would have been if Calixtus had not already prepared the ground. Like Calixtus, Innocent also used ceremonies and pageantry to accentuate the majesty of the papacy. And like Calixtus, he was a master of the art of suggestion. By celebrating a *dies coronae* on Laetare Sunday while in exile he staged a ceremony reminiscent of the Ceremony of the Rose. When Lothar performed the *officium stratoris* during the procession, he could have been seen as the counterpart of the prefect of Rome, a papal vassal. The seed had been planted, and its maturation was the coronation frescoes with their inscription.

Innocent's successors continued his strategy of staking out radical positions, and then retreating when challenged. Adrian IV imitated his tactics when he used "beneficium" in an ambiguous and suggestive sense at the Diet of Besançon in 1157, but Frederick immediately called his bluff. Alerted to the subtle campaign to erode imperial authority by artful suggestion, he insisted that the pope recognize the current meaning of "beneficium" as "fief", and he forced Adrian to declare that he had never intended to imply that he had granted Frederick his empire as a fief. The incident highlights just how effective Calixtus and Innocent had been in undermining imperial authority since the Concordat of Worms. To achieve this new balance they had expertly used a variety of ceremonial and art forms to condition Christians to accept their vision of papal authority. The Concordat of Worms had been a watershed in the sense that it transferred the competition between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* to a different arena. Had the church recognized Anaclet as pope, there might have been a hiatus in what proved to be a march from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII.

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INDEX

- Saints Abbondio and Abbondantio, 158–161
- Adalbert, bishop of Mainz, 28, 63–64, 78
- Adrian IV, 53, 190, 193–194, 197–199, 202–203, 205, 214
- Alexander II, 17, 20–23, 26–27
- Alexander III, 3, 26–27, 31–32, 38, 55, 59, 83, 115, 134, 156, 160, 197, 204
- Alfanus, *camerarius*, 4–8, 15, 127
- Anaclet I, 98–100, 109, 137, 146, 148, 212; alleged consecrator of altar of Augustus, Santa Maria in Capitolio, 150, 157–160; significance of consecration, 161
- Anaclet II, 4, 24–28, 33, 35, 38, 58, 70, 75, 76, 88, 89, 94–98, 105, 106–109, 111–117, 162, 167, 175, 177, 179, 180, 195, 200, 202, 208, 209–214; creator of altar of Augustus, Santa Maria in Capitolio, 150–161, 174; creator of apse fresco, chapel of St. Nicholas, 134–149, 155, 161, 167, 214; papal schism of 1130–1138, xvii–xviii, xxii, 39, 98–99, 103, 124, 134, 159, 170, 175, 177, 196, 200, 213; as Petrus Pierleoni, xvii–xviii, xx–xxi, 2, 3, 24, 39, 87, 95, 97–98, 103, 141–143, 159–160, 162–163, 165, 167, 175; relationship with San Clemente, 124–131;
- Angelus and Brisottus, priests of San Bartolomeo, 160
- Arnulf of Lisieux (previously canon of Séez), 26, 125, 142, 143
- Augustus (Octavian), 1, 104; altar of vision of, Santa Maria in Capitolio, 150–161, 212; inscription, 156, 158; legends of vision, 151–155, 161, 212
- Benzo of Alba, 53, 67, 70, 206–207
- Bernard of Clairvaux, xviii, xxii, 38, 44, 100, 108, 125–126, 128, 130, 135, 138, 140, 146–148, 169, 172, 176, 211, 213
- Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, 72
- Bruno of Segni, 90
- Burchard of Biberach, 23–24
- Cadulus, 17, 20–21, 26
- Calixtus II, xvi, xx–xxii, 64–65, 93–98, 106–107, 118, 126, 132–139, 143–146, 148, 158–159, 161, 162, 165–168, 180, 182, 185–186, 188, 195, 198, 209–212, 214; as Archbishop Guy of Vienne, xvi, 57–58, 68–69, 78–79, 81; author of *ordo* C, 45–46, 58, 68–70, 76–77, 78–92,; Council of Rheims, 1119, 28, 69; creator of major altar, St. Peter's, 40–44; decorator of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, 1–15; Lateran palace, rooms, 16–19; frescoes, 20–35, 36, 43; patron of rebuilding of St. Chrysogonus, 36–40
- camerarius domini papae*, 6–7, 19, 47, 79
- Capitoline, 1, 60, 101, 148, 150–161, 212

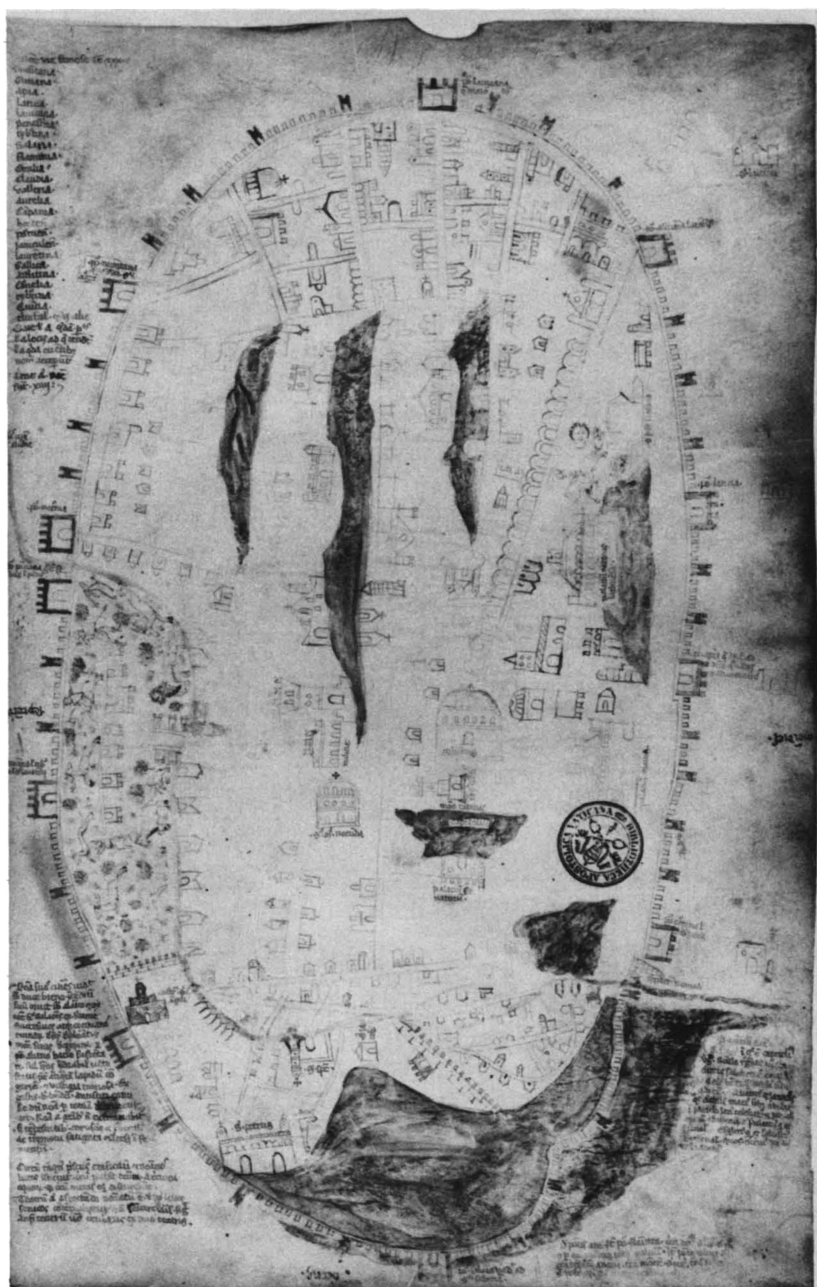
- Castel San Angelo, 75, 185–186
 Cencius, *camerarius*, 46, 51–53, 92
 Charlemagne, 10, 71, 73–74
Chronicon S. Sophiae Beneventensis, 21, 29–30
Chronicon Vulturense, 11, 21, 28–30, 100, 175
 Cistercians, 8, 140, 169
 Clement I, 8, 100, 108–109, 128,
 Clement III (Guibert), 17, 20–22, 84, 211
 Cluny, xvi, xviii, 3, 6, 19, 36, 79, 97, 127; Pontius as abbot, xx, 6, 142, 180, 186
 Concordat of Worms, xviii, xxi–xxii, 10, 15, 16, 21, 23–24, 25, 27–33, 39, 43, 52, 68, 78, 83, 85, 88, 93, 120, 134, 138, 144–145, 162, 198, 200–201, 209–210, 214
 Constantine, xxiii, 5, 11, 14, 27, 29–34, 41, 70, 82, 91, 99, 147–148, 151, 155, 168, 174, 184–185, 192, 197, 207, 212; Donation of, 14–15, 31–33, 43, 49, 52, 68, 89–91, 171–172, 185, 187, 194–195, 207, 210; Helen, mother of, 41, 153, 157, 160, 185
 Daniel, Book of, 9–11
 David, bishop of Bangor, 62, 64–66, 70, 74, 77
Descriptio basilicae lateranensis, 32, 34, 156, 187
 diadem (golden), 63, 67, 70–77
 Diego, archbishop of Compostella, 6, 19, 40
 donor motif, 178–179
 dove, encaged as symbol, 172, 176–177
Ecclesia Romana, 13, 27, 66, 140, 170, 175
 Ekkehard of Aura, 30, 64–67
 Exultet Rolls, 14, 175
 Ezekiel, Book of, 10–11
 fanon, 171–172
 Farfa, 2, 69, 87, 177; Gregory of Catino, chronicler, 69, 177; Berald III, abbot, 75
 Frangipani, xvii, xxi, 1, 3, 22–24, 74–75, 101, 143, 189
 Frederick Barbarossa, 26–27, 57, 61, 70, 76, 84, 86, 91, 190, 192, 193–195, 214; performance of *officium stratoris*, 198–199, 202–203, 205–206, 208
 frigium, 5, 90, 171, 181, 206–207
 Gelasius II, xvi, xix–xx, 1–4, 22–23, 28, 98, 111, 118, 134, 143, 186; as John of Gaeta, xix, 3, 58, 64–65, 70, 73, 75, 78, 86
 Gerhoh of Reichersberg, 25, 29, 78, 91, 123, 195–198
 globe (see orb)
 Golden rose, ceremony of, 195, 214
Graphia Aurea Urbis Romae, xv, 101, 154,
 Gratian, 113
 Gregory I, xxiii, 41–42, 127, 132, 134, 145–146, 148, 160, 166
 Gregory VI, 114
 Gregory VII, xv, xxiii, 2, 12–14, 17, 20–23, 52, 69, 73, 80, 86, 101, 104, 114, 134, 140, 151, 175–176, 183, 190, 206–208, 214; *Dictatus Papae*, 202, 208
 Gregory VIII (Burdinus), xix, 16, 20–22, 24–25, 27, 30, 33, 26–39, 69, 73, 75, 209; as Archbishop Maurice of Braga, 60, 75, 86
 Gregory, Master, author of *Narracio de Mirabilibus urbis*

- Romae*, 12
- Guigo of Chartreuse, xviii, xxi, 143
- Hadrian, emperor, 185–186
- Haimeric, papal chancellor, xvii–xviii, xx–xxi, 18, 24, 79, 143, 147, 180–181
- Hariulf, abbot of Oudenburg, 28, 80, 181–182
- Henry III, 71–72, 87, 114
- Henry IV, 67, 69, 70, 73, 84, 87, 151, 194, 207–208
- Henry V, xvi, xix–xx, 10, 15, 17, 20–21, 23–24, 27–32, 35, 39, 69, 78–79, 85–88, 100, 138, 147, 186, 198, 209; coronations of, xvi, 52, 56, 57–77, 78, 91; February, 1111, 59–61, 63–65, 68, 85–86, 89, 91, 100, 192, 205; April, 1111, 61–65, 68, 77, 91
- Honorius II, xvii–xviii, xx–xxii, 25, 36, 40, 93–95, 98, 103, 125, 136, 138, 141, 143, 167, 209–210; election of, 1124, 98, 131, 143, 159, 203
- Honorius Augustodunensis, 13, 14, 67, 172–174, 176–177, 206, 207
- Innocent II, xvii–xviii, xxi–xxiii, 1, 27–28, 36, 38, 44, 45, 53, 76, 78, 80–82, 91, 94, 97–98, 100–101, 103–105, 107–109, 111, 113, 116–117, 120, 123, 125–127, 129–131, 136–137, 141, 143–144, 147, 151, 158–159, 180–192, 209–211, 213–214; as Gregory of St. Angelo, xvii, xx, 2, 39, 141–143, 163; imperial coronation frescoes, Lateran palace, 188–192, 213–214; impact of frescoes, 193–203; portrayed in miniature of *Chronicon*, Otto of Freising, 206–208; rebuilder of Santa Maria in Trastevere, 162–179; apse mosaic, 169–179; St. Peter's, contributions to, 203–206; sarcophagus of, 185–186, 213; use of imperial symbolism, 180–187
- Investiture Contest, 139, 182, 209
- Irnerius, 73, 75
- Johannes Diaconus, 156, 187
- John of Crema, cardinal, xx, 24, 36–40
- John of Salisbury, 26
- Jonathan, cardinal, 168
- Junius Bassus, 12
- Lateran Basilica, 5, 16–33, 36, 45, 56, 79, 91, 94, 99, 185, 187, 203, 205–206, 210, 213; mosaics in zophorus, 32–34
- Lateran Councils, first, 1123, xvii, 16–17, 25, 29, 39, 43, 83; second, 1139, 108, 111–112, 131, 147, 162, 170, 198; fourth, 1215, 27
- Lateran Palace, 16–35, 49, 75, 79, 94, 183, 183, 195, 200; *camera pro secretis consiliis*, 17–18, 20–33, 137–139, 148; frescoes of Calixtus in *camera*, 20–35, 16, 43, 68, 82, 86, 89–90, 135, 137, 144, 209, 212; chapel of St. Nicholas, 4, 17, 19, 25, 33, 100, 148–149, 188; fresco of Anaclet II in chapel, 109, 116–117, 132–149, 155, 161, 167, 211–212; inscriptions of fresco, 132–137, 145; imperial coronation frescoes of Innocent II, 188–192, 206–207; mosaics in porticus, 31–32; *scabellum*, 16, 22, 27, 31, 39, 68, 82, 138, 144; *triclinium*, 17–19, 200; *vestiarium*, 17–19

- Laudes, 45, 50–51, 59–61, 84–85, 89, 91, 182–183; cornomannie, 182–184
 Leo I, 132, 134, 145
 Leo III, 18, 71, 81, 155, 200
 Leo, cardinal bishop of Ostia, 72, 110–112, 128
lex, 118–120, 123–124, 126, 128–131, 166
Liber Censuum, 45–46, 52, 92
Liber Floridus, 5, 65–66
Liber Politicus, 1, 6, 44, 45, 78, 81, 152, 182–183; Benedict, canon of St. Peter's as author, 152, 182–183
 lions as symbols, 11–14, 148–149, 209, 212
 lorum, 171
 Lothar III, xxi, 27–28, 51, 57, 60, 70, 75–76, 86, 91, 125, 144, 159, 213–214; coronation depicted in Lateran frescoes, 188–192, 206–207; impact of frescoes, 193–203; performance of *officium stratoris*, 194–195
 Louis VI, xxi, 25, 78–79, 97
 Malalas, Johannes, 152
 Marcus Aurelius, equestrian statue, 27, 184–185
 Mary, mother of Jesus, 7, 155, 211; as Bride of Christ, 163, 169–179; Madonna della Clemenza, 139; as Maria Regina, 7, 132–149, 175, 213; as Mother of the church, 173
 Mathilda, Countess of Tuscany, 12; lands invested to Lothar III by Innocent II, 201
 St. Maurice, 47, 50–51, 81–82, 84, 210; altar of, St. Peter's, 47, 49, 54–56, 79–84, 91–92, 205, 210
Mirabilia Urbis Romae, xv, 152, 154, 161, 212
 mitre, 30, 48, 67, 134, 196
 Montecassino, xviii, xxi, 14, 76, 128, 201
 Nebuchadnezzar, 9–10
 Nicephorus, Callistus of Constantinople, 152, 156
 St. Nicholas, 4, 102, 134, 138–139
 Norbert of Xanten, xviii, xxi, 125, 142, 200
 Oath, emperor to the pope, 47, 52–53, 80, 85, 88, 191; emperor to the Romans, 51, 59–60, 85–88; coronation oath of Lothar III as depicted in the Lateran frescoes, 189, 191, 200
Officium stratoris, 45, 51, 85, 90–91, 191, 193–200, 203, 207
 orb (globe), 13, 30, 49, 65–67, 156
Ordines, imperial coronation, 45–56; Apamea, 50, 82, 84, 88, 89; Cencius I (*ordo* B), 45–46, 53–56, 58–59, 67, 69, 77, 79–80, 85, 87, 92, 190–191; Cencius II (*ordo* C), 45–56, 61, 68–69, 78–92, 191–192, 194, 205; comparison of *ordo* B with *ordo* C, 53–56, 88; Fulrad, 78–79; Salian, 53, 71, 89
 Otto of Freising, 21, 26–27; miniature from *Chronicon*, 206–207
 Palatine, 1
 Papareschi, 163, 213
 Paschal II, xv, xxi 17, 20–23, 28–30, 33, 94, 97–98, 100, 103, 110–112, 118, 132, 134, 147, 156, 159, 186, 205–206; coronations of Henry V, 57–77; February, 1111, 48, 51–52, 59–61, 63–65, 68, 85–86, 89; April, 1111, 61–65, 68, 77;

- privilege to Henry V, April, 1111, 68–71
- Patricius Romanorum*, 70–77, 194
- St. Paul, 30, 32–34, 97, 99, 115, 117, 124, 163, 171
- St. Peter, xxii, xxiii, 15, 30, 32–34, 36, 40–44, 60–61, 81–82, 85, 90, 96, 99–100, 108, 112, 115, 117, 146, 148, 157, 171, 173–175, 177–178, 181, 183, 200, 203, 207, 210–212
- Peter of Pisa, cardinal, 94, 107–109, 118, 128, 131–131, 211
- Peter of Porto, cardinal, 39, 94, 180
- Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, xviii, 125, 143, 180
- Petrus Diaconus (of Montecassino), 63, 68, 76, 86–87, 101, 154
- Petrus Mallius, 83–84, 203–204
- Pierleoni, xviii, xxi, 2–3, 25, 39, 74, 87–88, 93, 95–105, 148, 150–151, 158–160, 163, 165–166, 208, 213; Huguccio, 74; Jordan, 74, 151; Petrus Leonis, 2, 3, 5, 58, 87, 94–97, 101, 147; sarcophagus of, 95–97
- Placidus of Nonantola, 73
- Porta Octavia, 2, 104
- Prefect of Rome, 51
- proskynesis, 80, 182
- Rodrigo, archbishop of Toledo, 27
- Roger II, xviii, xxi, 4, 61, 108, 130, 144, 174, 187, 202
- Roman Senate, 76, 151, 154, 184–185, 202–203, 206, 212–213
- Romulus and Remus, statue, 184
- rota, 11, 48, 59, 62–65, 68–69,
- St. Angelo, 2, 101, 104
- St. Peter's basilica, 3, 5, 13, 21, 29, 33–34, 36, 40–44, 45–56, 57–77, 79, 88, 91, 94, 99, 101, 185–187, 210, 213; Innocent II, contributions, 203–206; major altar, 49–50, 55–56, 62, 80, 82, 84, 92, 163, 210; rebuilt by Calixtus, 40–44, 82–83, 161, 210; memoria, 99–100, 145–146
- Saints Cosma et Damiano, 97, 158–160
- San Bartolomeo al'Isola, 158–160
- San Chrisogonus, 36–40, 209
- San Clemente, 106, 118–131, 137; apse mosaic, 116, 118–131, 161; inscription, 119–131, 166, 169, 213; papal throne, 11, 106–109, 112, 114, 118, 139, 211
- San Giovanni avanti Porta Latina, 114
- San Lorenzo in Lucina, 106, 109–110, 113, 127–128; frescoes, 115–117; papal throne, 11, 106, 109–114, 139, 161, 211
- San Nicola in Carcere, 2, 40, 100
- San Paulo fuori le mura, 93, 95–97, 163, 205
- San Silvestro in Capite, 44, 158
- San Silvestro, chapel in Quattro Coronati, frescoes, 207
- Santa Maria in Capitolio (Ara-coeli), 150–161, 164, 212, 214
- Santa Maria in Cosmedin, 1–15, 16, 32, 44, 79, 106, 112, 127; nave frescoes, 7–11; papal throne, 7, 11–15, 106, 209, 211; tomb of Alfanus, 7–8, 140
- Santa Maria in Portico, 104–105
- Santa Maria in Trastevere, 36, 39, 97, 126–127, 129–130, 139, 143–144, 162–179, 186; apse mosaic, 116, 169–179; inscription of, 137,

- 165, 175; feast of the circumcision, 44, 98, 165–168; *fons olei*, 163–164; rebuilding of basilica by Innocent II, 162–169, 213
- Santa Maria in Turri, 47, 59, 80, 85, 190
- Saxo of St. Stephano, cardinal, xx
- scepter, 30, 49, 56, 67, 89
- Schola Graeca, 1, 2, 6
- scrutinium*, 48, 68
- Solomon, Book of, 12
- stations, stational services, 18–19, 42, 165–167, 183, 185, 188, 195
- Stephanus Normannus, 63–65
- Stephen of Berry, 5–6, 8
- Stephen of Grandmont, 142
- Storie de Troja et de Roma (Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum)*, 13, 66
- Suger, abbot of St. Denis, 25–26, 143, 172, 180–181, 208
- Suidas, 152
- Sylvester I, xxiii, 5, 14, 29–34, 36, 41–43, 49, 55, 82, 89–91, 99, 132–133, 145–146, 148, 159–161, 171, 194, 196–197, 207, 210, 212
- synagogue, 120–124, 129
- Theater of Marcellus, 2, 100–101, 104
- tiara, 14, 17, 20, 67, 134, 146, 191, 206–208, 212–213
- Trastevere, 1–2, 36, 40, 100–101, 163, 165, 213
- Urban II, xx, 2–6, 27, 20–23, 48, 53, 95–96, 101–102, 132, 134, 185, 194; sepulchre of, 3
- Victor III, 17, 20–23, 134
- vine, symbol of the living church, 118–129
- Walter, archbishop of Ravenna, 125
- William of Malmesbury, 62–63, 70

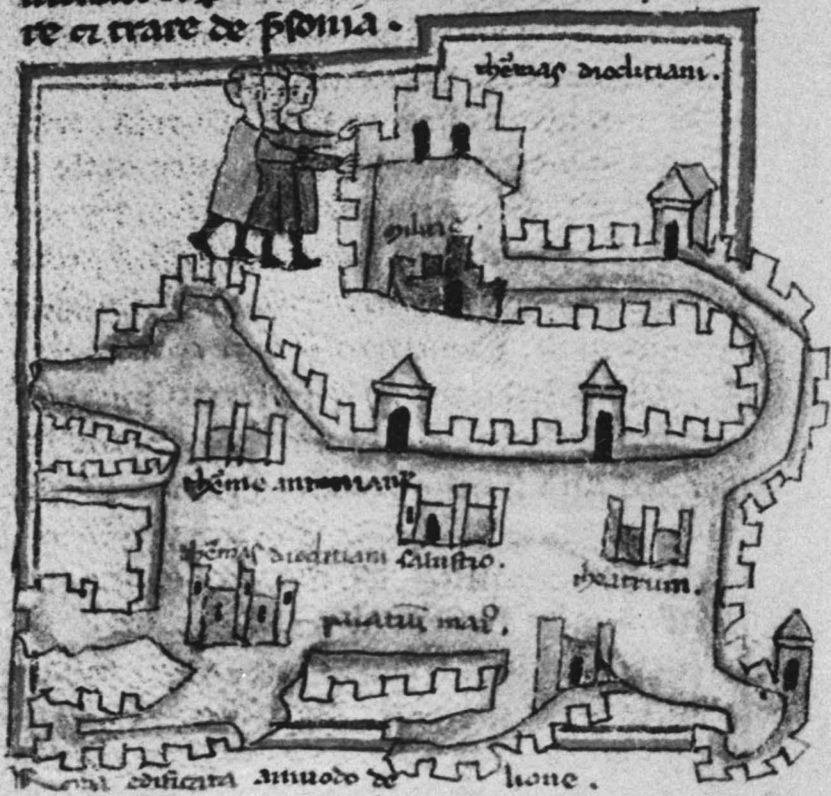


1. Rome, Fra Paolino da Venezia, Map, 1323



2. Papal throne, Santa Maria in Cosmedin

in hanc. Spiritus inco. tumi. Et in uo tēpo so. ta
 tio filio. 2. Journalle loqle dille nūto male de
 domitiano. Enātriale garetto mirable uēsi
 catore. Vnde p. mādūto d. domitiano
 beat' iohes euāgelista fo posto i psonē i past
 hūmā Insula. O. apola mōte d. domitiano
 lisenarrei p. loro actonitate lofettero lassa
 re et trare de psona.



3. Rome shaped as a lion



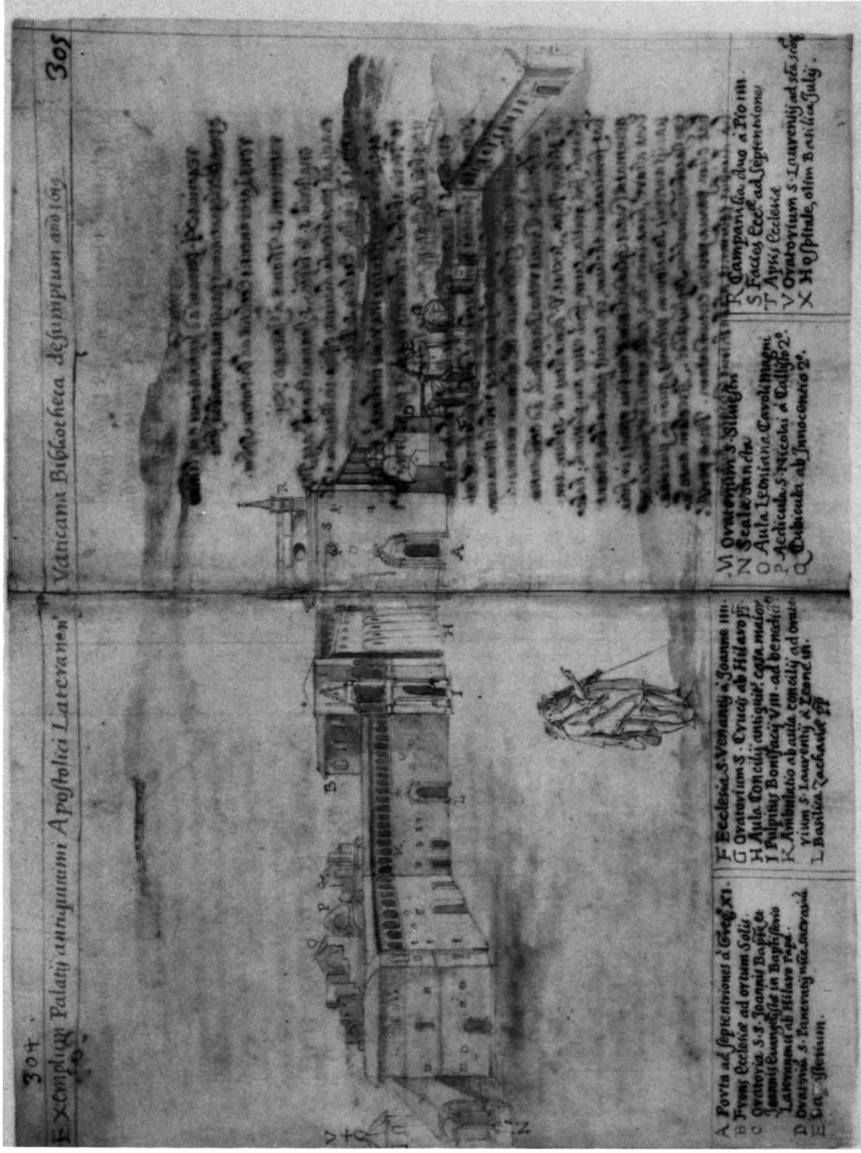
4. Roma caput mundi



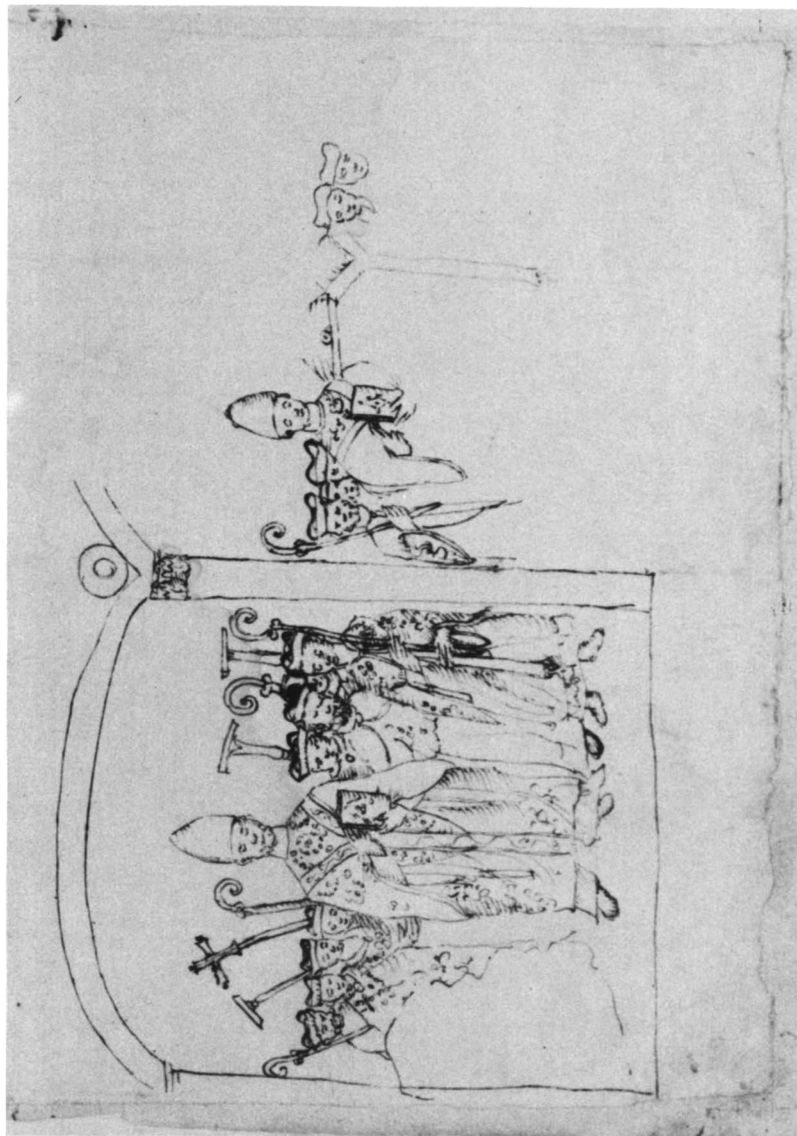
5. Ecclesia Romana



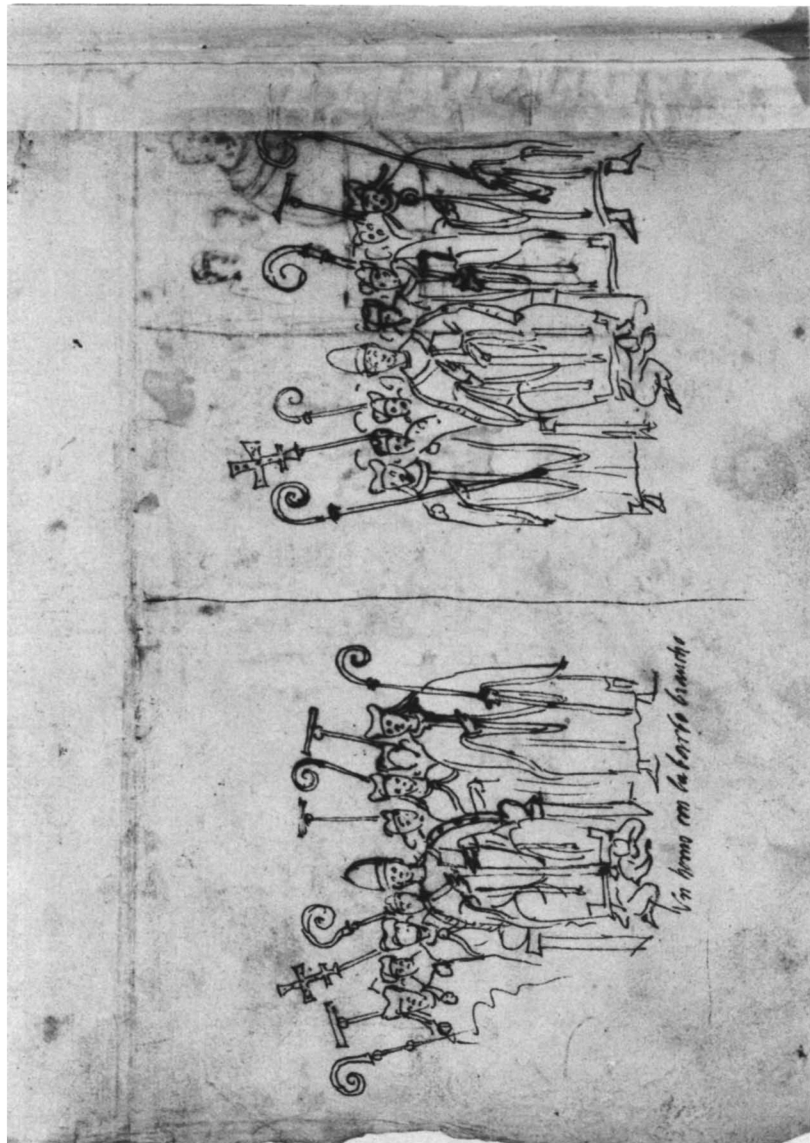
6. Emperor (top left), pope (bottom); Exultet Roll



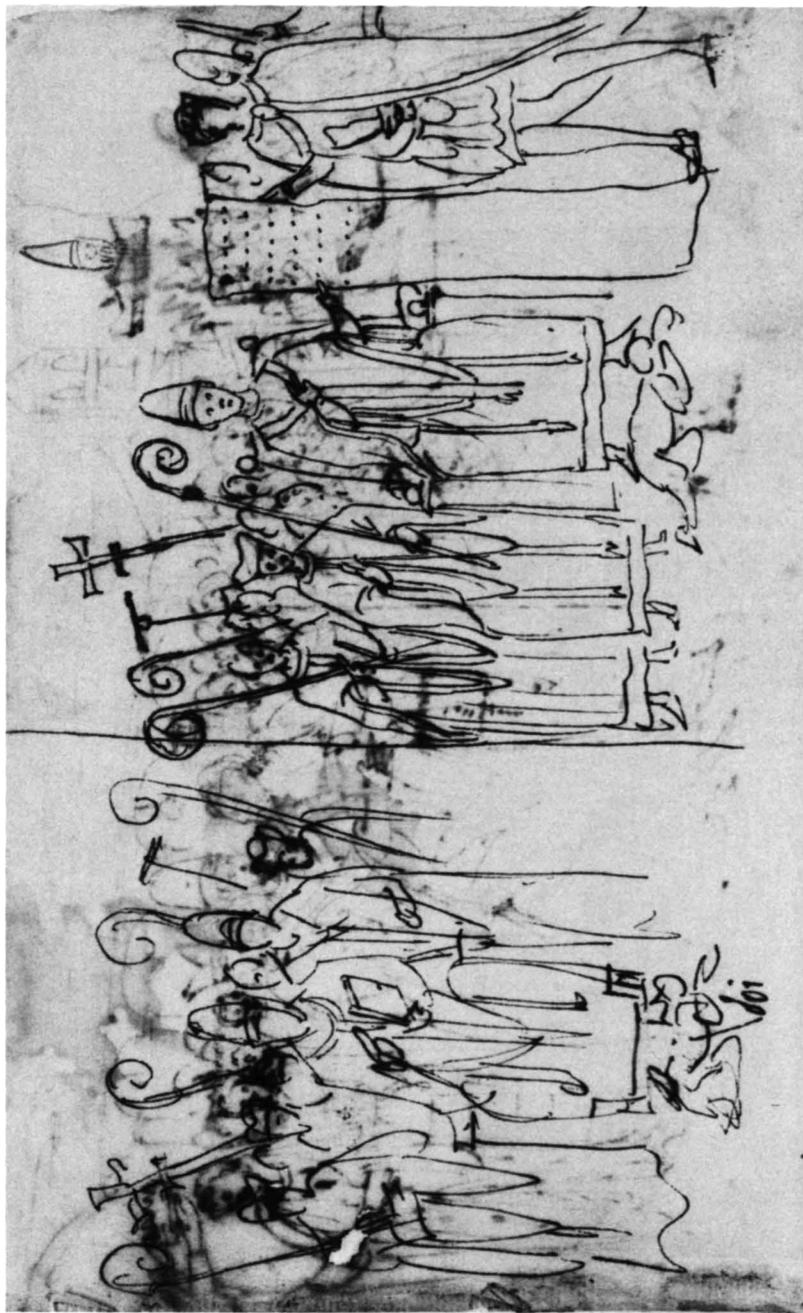
7. Lateran basilica, palace and campus



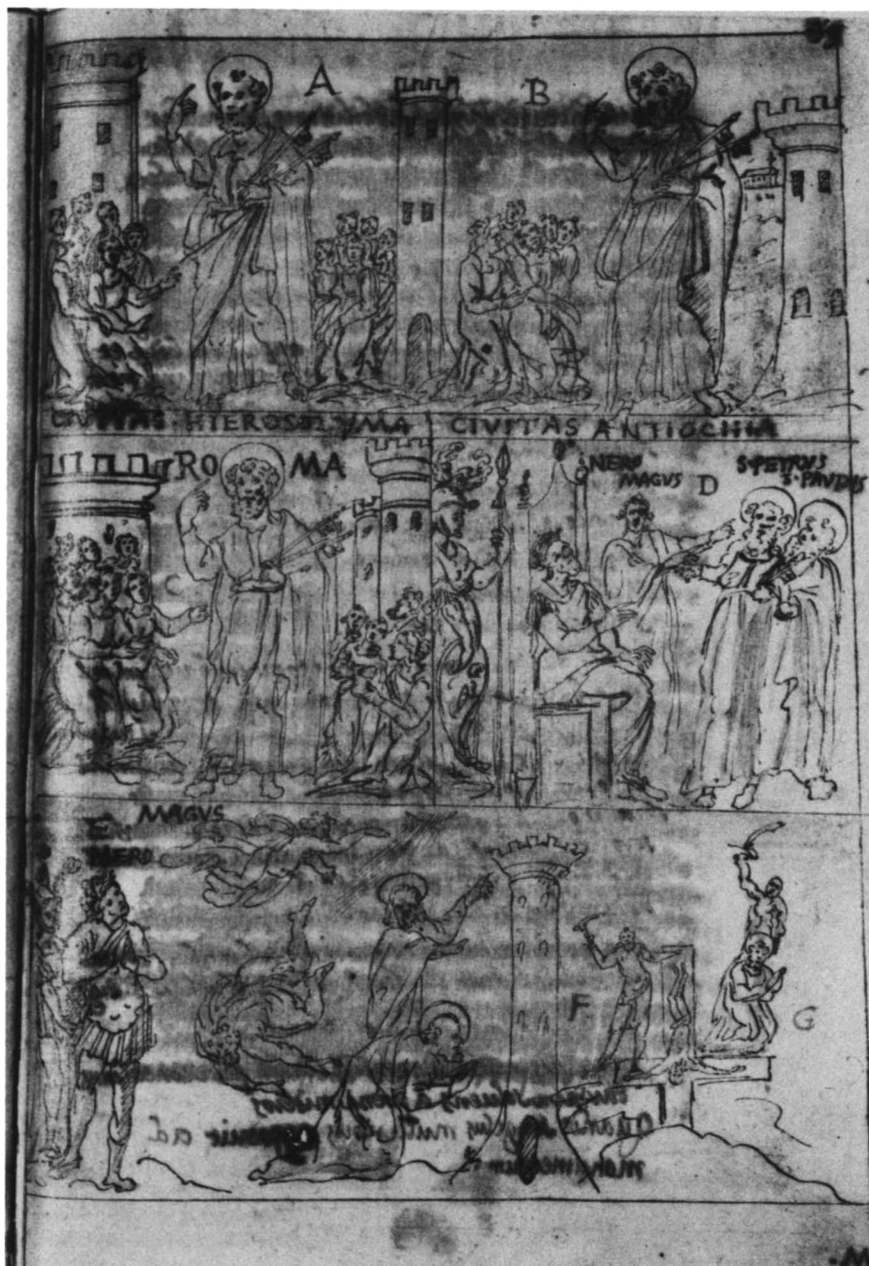
8. Alexander II (left); Gregory VII (@ Ladner) or Paschal II (right)



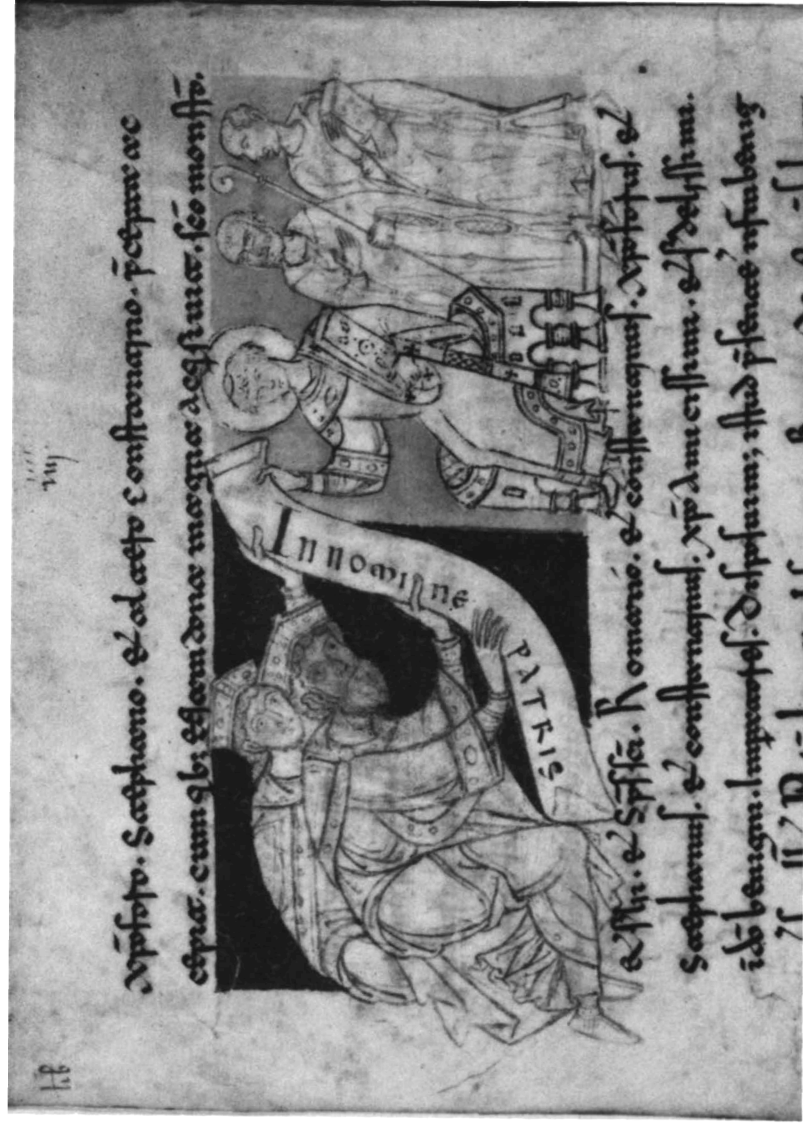
9. Alexander II over Cadolus (left); Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II over Guibert (right)



10. Paschal II with Gelasius II over Albert, Maginulf, Theodoric (left);
Calixtus II over Burdinus, Henry V (right)



11. Nero with Sts. Peter and Paul (middle right)



12. Byzantine emperors present privilege to St. Vincent of Vulturno

teperet. Inā teſ quos ſtancie abſceſum ceſſe ppetue ſed ſcep
ce uoluſſet. Cui etiam pedemq' uice dilectionis cequitur q' ſon
queder iſignior cum huius modi p'uilegio Conculat.



et huius letitiorum de uisito uenerabilis iohannis abbas de monasterio christi martiri
venerabili. quod si tu es super illi crucis flumini in sonat. per te per sancte.
et hoc te benedicti aeterno. et preterit inde uenerabilis monasterio omni. et



15. Gisulf II holding document with enthroned St. Vincent



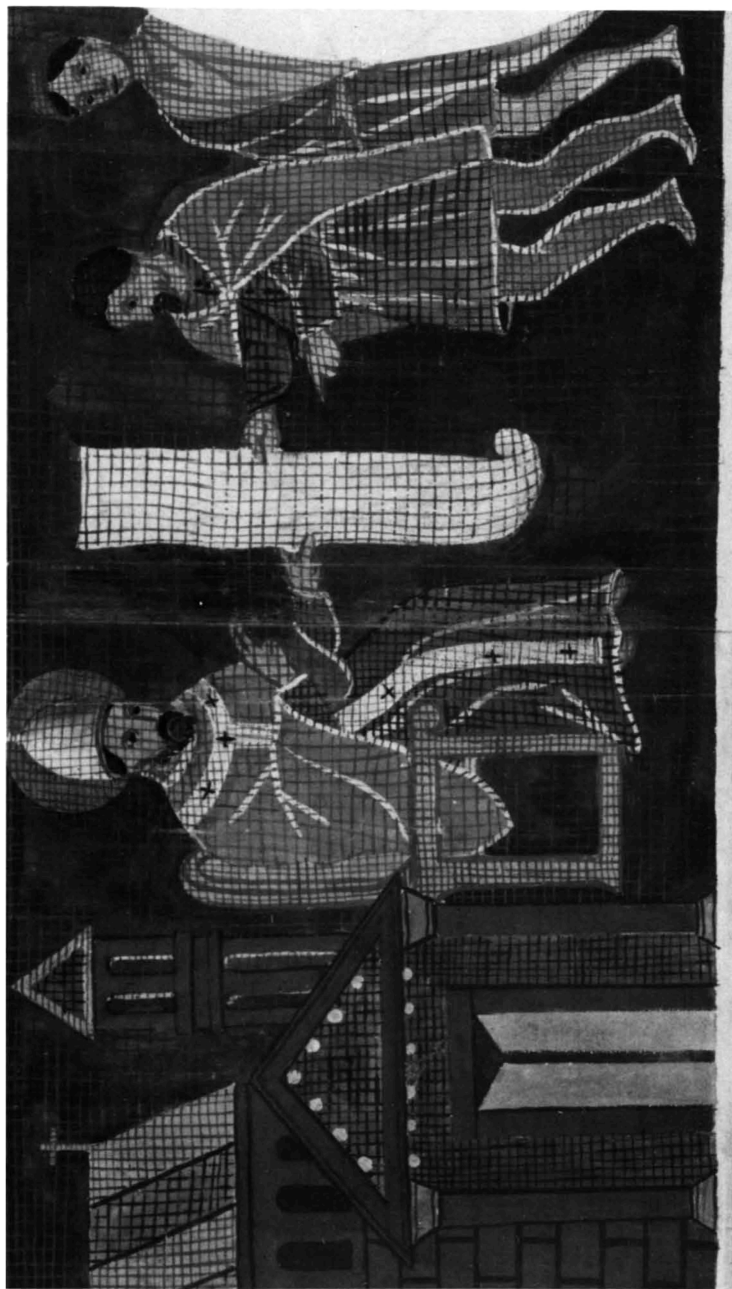
16. Sylvester shows portrait of Sts. Peter and Paul to enthroned Constantine



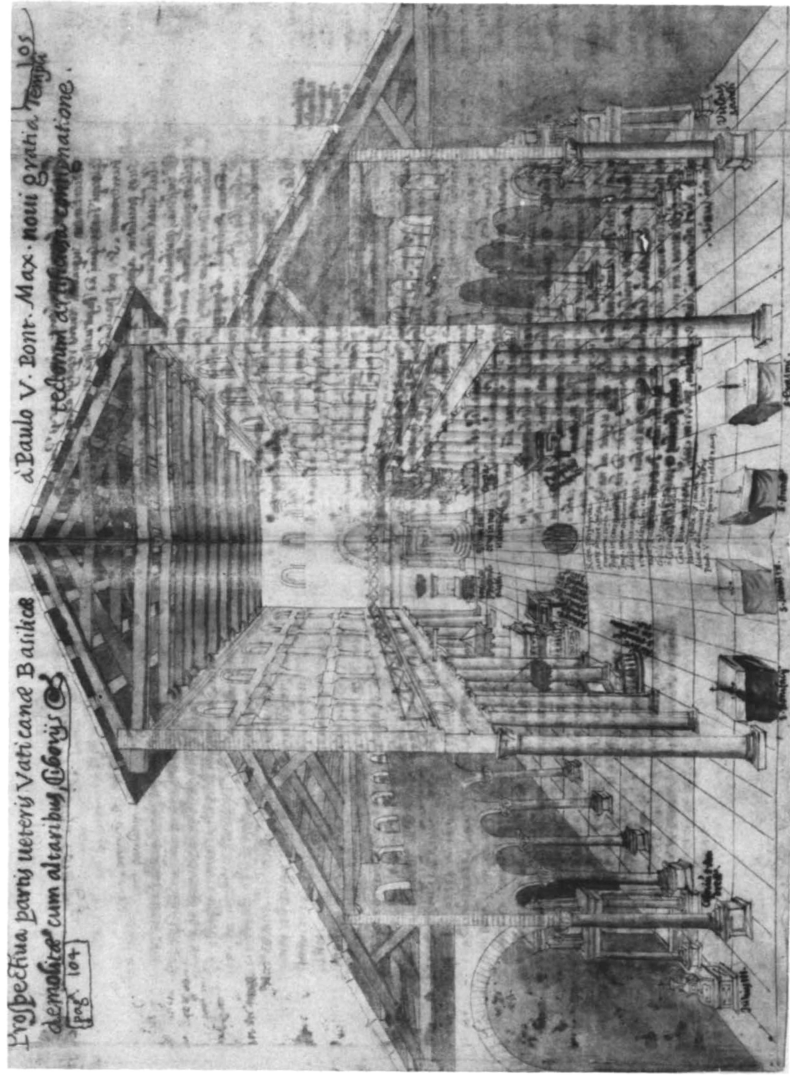
17. Henry V receives globe from Paschal II



18. John XII grants bull of confirmation to the abbot, Paul



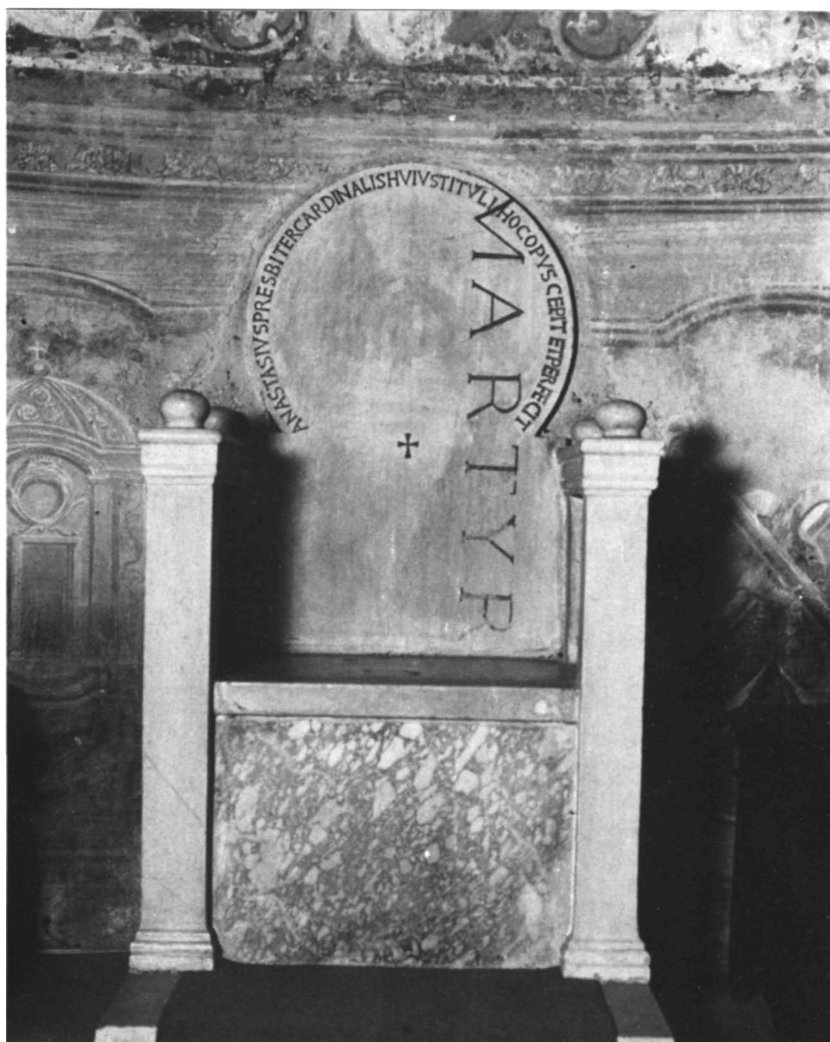
19. Constantine presents donation to enthroned Sylvester



20. Old St. Peter's interior



21. Sarcophagus of Petrus Leonis



22. Papal throne, San Clemente



23. Papal throne, San Lorenzo in Lucina



24. Apse mosaic, San Clemente



25. Apse fresco, chapel of St. Nicholas, Lateran palace



26. Sylvester I



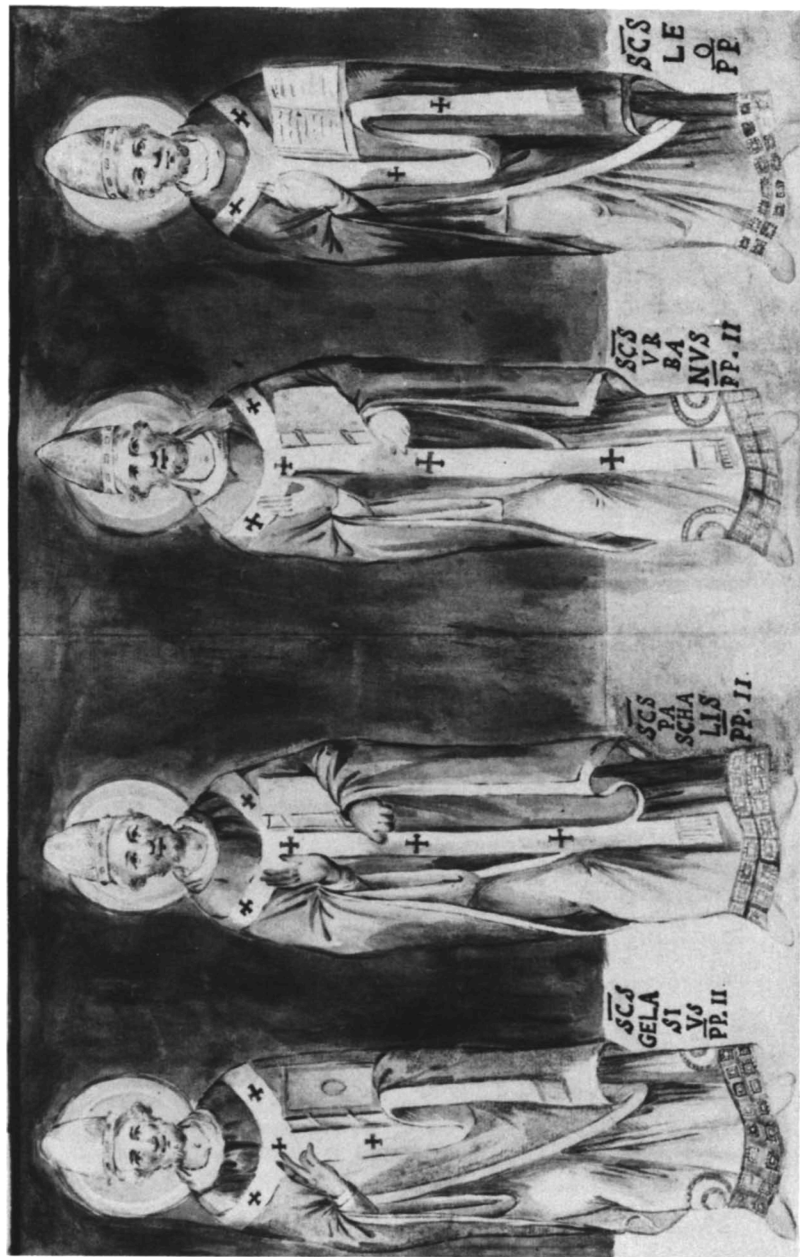
27. Anaclet I (entitled Anastasius I)



28. Calixtus II



29. Anaclet II (entitled Anastasius III or IIII)



30. Eclissi drawings of Gelasius II, Paschal II, Urban II, & Leo I



31. Eclissi drawings of Gregory I, Alexander II, Gregory VII, & Victor III



32. Leo I



33. Gregory I



34. Gelasius II? (entitled Gelasius I)



35. Paschal II? (entitled Paschal I)



36. Urban II? (entitled Calixtus I)



37. Alexander II



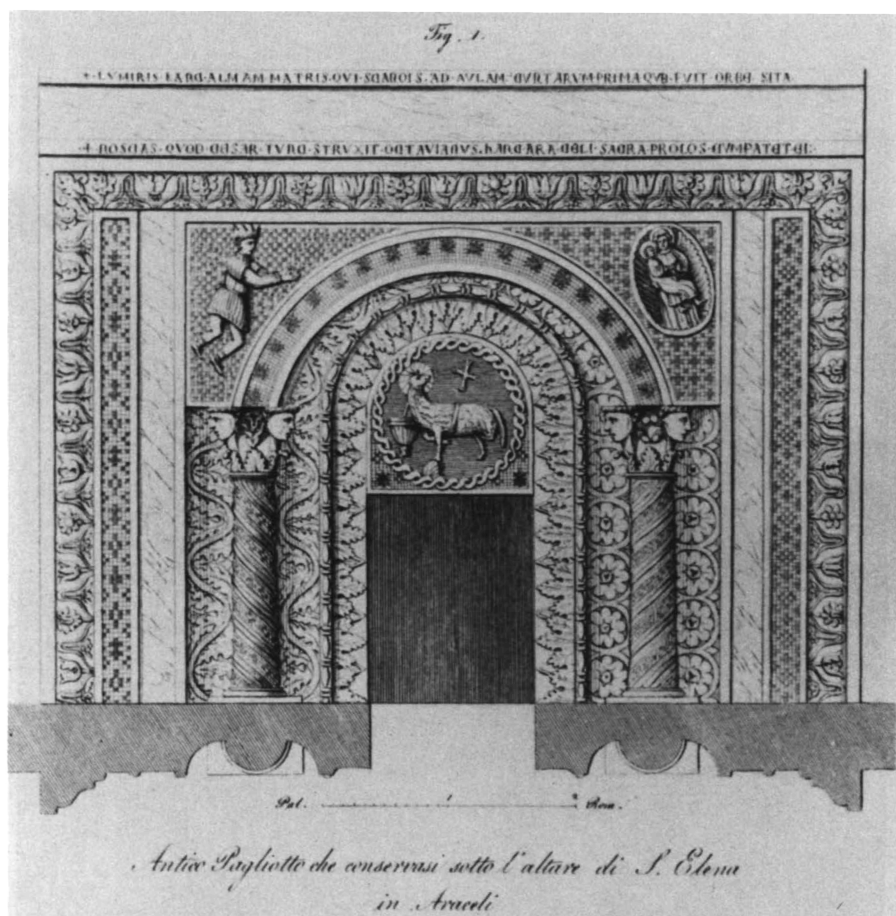
38. Gregory VII



39. Victor III? (entitled Celestine I)



40. Mater Ecclesia (top); Exultet Roll



41. Altar of Vision of Augustus, Santa Maria Aracoeli



42. Apse Mosaic, Santa Maria in Trastevere



43. Coronation of Lothar III



44. Innocent II combats the Roman Senate; *Chronicon*, Otto of Freising